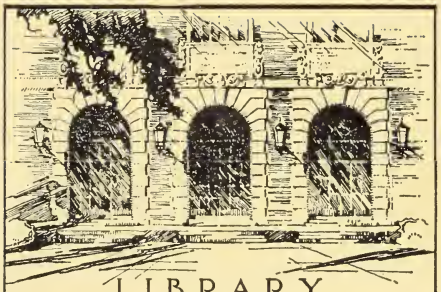

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INDIANA

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME 14

NUMBER 1

THE TRAIL OF DEATH

Letters of Benjamin Marie Petit

By
IRVING McKEE

INDIANAPOLIS
INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1941

PREFACE

THE removal of the Indians from the Middle West a hundred years ago was an event of prime importance in the growth of the United States. One of the most striking episodes in this process was the Potawatomi emigration from Indiana in 1838. More contemporary records and a greater volume of published material about it are extant than are to be found in connection with the removal of the Miami and other Indians from this part of the country. The journal of the emigration, a large part of which is attributed to William Polke, the conductor of the party, was printed in Volume XXI of the *Indiana Magazine of History.* Contemporary newspapers and documents in the National Archives contain details. The late state representative, Daniel McDonald, of Plymouth, realizing the injustice and harshness of the treatment of the Potawatomi, brought together some of the information in the little volume, *Removal of the Pottawattomies from Northern Indiana,* most of which is included in his *A Twentieth Century History of Marshall County, Indiana.* Facts about the emigration were given publicity in the movement which resulted in the erection by the State of Indiana of the imposing monument to Chief Menominee and his band at Twin Lakes, Marshall County. But much remains to be told of the struggle —on one side, to adjust these natives to an imported standard of civilization, and, on the other, to cast them out of the only land they knew.

The Petit letters, for the most part translated and published for the first time, illuminate this phase of pioneer times with almost brutal clarity. The devoted young priest, seeking with all his waning strength to defend an immense, but moribund, cause; the hapless Potawatomi, caught between an advancing tide and a menacing wilderness; the untiring and unscrupulous government agents, harried by the incoming white men—all these meet here in brief but photographed conflict. The

inevitable defeat, a tragedy in the classic sense, more than justifies the title given it—The Trail of Death.[1]

To H. Vernon Davis, of Culver Military Academy, without whose scholarship and perseverance the translation of the letters would not have been complete or accurate, special acknowledgment must be made. The Reverend Thomas T. McAvoy, C. S. C., Archivist of the University of Notre Dame, made available much of the material and provided invaluable help at every turn.

Since first prepared, the manuscript has been admirably corrected and clarified by the staff of the Indiana Historical Society.

IRVING MCKEE

CULVER MILITARY ACADEMY
June, 1941

[1]Jacob P. Dunn, *True Indian Stories* . . . (Indianapolis, 1908), pp. 234-52.

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Symbols

IO.....Indian Office

ISL.....Indiana State Library

UNDA....University of Notre Dame Archives

ALS.....Autograph Letter Signed

C.....Copy

INTRODUCTION

THE Potawatomi, or "People of the Small Prairie," were probably the most numerous of the Indian tribes living in Indiana before the incoming white man drove them to other lands. Having moved southward from northern Wisconsin and Michigan, the tribe in 1800 occupied the region at the southern end of Lake Michigan from the Milwaukee to the Grand River, including a large part of northern Illinois, a strip across Michigan to Lake Erie, and all of Indiana above the Wabash and Pine Creek. Although the total population of their fifty widely separated villages was only twenty-five hundred, the Potawatomi, a hunting and fishing people, required this large region for existence.

The French traders and Jesuit missionaries who met the Potawatomi between 1640 and 1670 at Green Bay, at Sault Ste. Marie, and near Lake Huron described them as "the most docile and affectionate toward the French of all the savages of the west."[1] In the French and Indian War, concluding with the sanguinary Pontiac Conspiracy of 1763, the Potawatomi were active in behalf of their traditional allies. When the defeated French abandoned their American possessions to Great Britain by the Treaty of Paris, the isolated Indians faced the choice of supporting established British traders on the one hand or newly arrived settlers from the East on the other. Again they made the expedient but ultimately disastrous decision, fighting against the Americans from 1775 to 1795 and from 1812 to 1815. A comparative peace and quiet then settled upon them, which was interrupted only by their forced migration westward to make way for the incoming whites.

The first white men to befriend the Potawatomi were Jesuit missionaries, and it was in these "black robes" that they placed their greatest trust. From 1690 to 1761 the Jesuits maintained the St. Joseph Mission near the northern border

[1]Frederick Webb Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin 30*, 2 volumes. Washington, D. C., 1907, 1910), II, 290.

of Indiana and present site of Niles, Michigan.[2] Here the Potawatomi of northern Indiana as well as Michigan received ministrations which deeply impressed them and which they remembered long after the last black robe had departed.

Their tendency to cling to the ceremonies and teaching of the Jesuit fathers was evident in 1821 when Isaac McCoy, a Baptist missionary to the Miami at Fort Wayne, visited the Potawatomi of the Yellow River, near Plymouth, Indiana. A trader had described their chief, Menominee, as a native preacher who exhorted his followers to abstain from vice, especially liquor, and to adhere to good morals.[3] Upon Menominee's earnest solicitation McCoy, accompanied by a young half-breed interpreter, Abraham Burnett,[4] came to his Yellow River village, consisting of four little bark huts, just north of Twin Lakes, in 1821 and again the following year to hold religious meetings for the tribe. As Menominee was only about thirty years old at this time,[5] he could not have known the Jesuits, who had been absent for almost sixty years, but McCoy observed that this chief and his band practiced morning and evening prayers together in the Catholic fashion, with sermons by the leader.

[2]See George Paré, "The St. Joseph Mission," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XVII (1930), 24-54.

[3]Isaac McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions* . . . (Washington, D. C., 1840), pp. 95-96.

[4]Burnett was a Potawatomi, born in Michigan about 1811. He was a student at McCoy's mission school at Fort Wayne and accompanied McCoy on several trips as an interpreter and traveling companion. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions,* pp. 100 ff., 113, 138, 139; "Abram B. Burnett, Pottawatomi Chief," Kansas State Historical Society, *Collections,* 1913-1914 (1915), XIII, 371-73. He is mentioned *post,* p. 113.

[5]Letter of Henry Willmering, S. J., of St. Mary's College, Kansas, to Irving McKee, June 9, 1938. The letter states: "Chief Menominee is probably the same individual as Alexis Menominee, listed in the parish register of St. Mary's Church at Sugar Creek [Kansas] for the year 1841 on page 75. He was born about the year 1791, was married to Angelique Sagike, had one daughter, Mary Ann, aged six years. The 101 entry in the Burial Register tells us that he died on April 15, 1841, aged about fifty, and was buried in the Sugar Creek cemetery." Menominee was baptized Alexis on the Yellow River in Indiana. See *post,* p. 15. A sketch of Menominee is given in Daniel McDonald, *A Twentieth Century History of Marshall County, Indiana* (2 volumes. Chicago, 1908), I, 12-16.

During McCoy's visits the Indians attempted to persuade him to come and live among them. He declined, but in 1822 he left Fort Wayne to establish among the Potawatomi to the north a new post which he called Carey Mission.[6] It was located near the present Niles, Michigan.

This institution continued for a decade, providing instruction and caring for the spiritual welfare of the Indians in the neighborhood. From his experience in the mission field McCoy became convinced that the best future for the Indians lay beyond the Mississippi. Their weakness for whisky and their gullibility in dealing with traders made him eager to establish them in a place far removed from the white man. In 1828 he led a small group of Ottawa and Potawatomi on an exploring expedition to the West. The next year he received an appointment as general agent in the mission work of his denomination among the Indians who migrated west of the Mississippi, and during the succeeding years he also held commissions from the government for exploring and treating with the Indians in the West. In 1830 Carey Mission was closed.[7]

Apparently the Potawatomi to whom McCoy and his assistants ministered were friendly but not wholly receptive of the Baptist teaching, yearning still for the teaching of the black robes. "Supposing it would please us," McCoy wrote, "they frequently told us that they still recollected portions of prayers which they had been taught, and two or three old persons told us that 'they had had water put on their faces,' as they expressed it."[8]

When a black robe, Father Rezé,[9] finally came again to

[6]Under a provision of the Chicago treaty of 1821 Isaac McCoy was appointed teacher to the Potawatomi and by arrangement with the Baptist Board of Missions founded the mission. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions,* pp. 102-6, 113-14, 139-40, 145-51; Charles J. Kappler (ed.), *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties* (2 volumes. Washington, D. C., 1904), II, 200; Cecilia Bain Buechner, *The Pokagons* (Indiana Historical Society, *Publications,* X, No. 5, Indianapolis, 1933), p. 292.

[7]McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions,* pp. 260 ff., 321-27, 337, 402.

[8]*Ibid.,* p. 237.

[9]Frederic Rezé, a native of Hanover, was ordained in Rome in 1822 and emigrated to the American missions in 1825. On February 25, 1833, he was consecrated the first bishop of Detroit. *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* IV (1908), 759; XII (1911), 320; Buechner, *The Pokagons,* p. 298.

the St. Joseph in 1830—the first in almost sixty years—Chief Leopold Pokagon[10] and other Potawatomi in the vicinity sought baptism, and when Rezé left soon afterward, Pokagon petitioned Father Gabriel Richard, vicar-general of the Bishop of Cincinnati in Detroit, for another priest. "An American minister," said the chief, "wished to draw us to his religion; but neither I nor any of my village wished to send our children to his school, nor go to his meetings; we have preserved the way of prayer taught our ancestors by the black robe who used to be at St. Joseph."[11]

Thus it was that Father Badin[12] came to reside near Niles and at Notre Dame from 1830 to 1835. He labored among the Potawatomi in Indiana and Michigan, aided faithfully by his interpreter, an elderly spinster named Angelique ("Liquette") Campeau,[13] who had taught the Indians near Detroit for thirty years. Badin purchased fifty arpents of land in Michigan near the Indiana border on which he built a chapel, and also a tract of land on St. Mary's Lake in St. Joseph

[10]Pokagon was a civil chief of the first rank of the Potawatomi. His village lay in what is now the southeast corner of Bertrand Township, Berrien County, Michigan, about six miles from the site of Carey Mission. By the treaty of Chicago in 1833 this land was ceded to the government. From proceeds of the sale of a section of land granted to him and his wife by the treaty of 1832, he purchased 712.8 acres in Silver Creek Township, Cass County, Michigan, and he and his band moved to that place in 1837. Here with the help of a few white neighbors they built a Catholic church. Buechner, *The Pokagons,* pp. 294, 310-31; Kappler (ed.), *Laws and Treaties,* II, 274; Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians,* II, 274.

[11]Letter of Father Stephen Theodore Badin, September 1, 1830, in *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi* (hereafter cited as *Annales*), IV (1830-31), No. XXIII, 547.

[12]Stephen Theodore Badin came to America in 1792, and was ordained a priest on May 25, 1793. After serving in Kentucky and at Monroe on the River Raisin, he came to Pokagon and his people in August, 1830. *Dictionary of American Biography,* I (1938), 488-89; *Annales,* IV (1830-31), No. XXIII, 546-50.

[13]Father Badin wrote of her, "She is 68 years old and she has spent more than thirty years at the school of my venerable friend, Father Richard [in Detroit]. I do not know of a priest more industrious, more penitent, more patient, more learned, more genuinely pious than she is in all this country. . . . Her activity is equal to her charity and zeal." Quoted in Buechner, *The Pokagons,* p. 302.

Replica of Father Badin's Chapel on the University of Notre Dame Campus

County, Indiana, where he erected a cabin-chapel in which he and his successors lived.[14]

Father Badin was joined in 1833 by Father Louis Deseille,[15] a Flemish priest. Deseille, looking for new souls to save, in the fall of 1834 visited Menominee's Village on the Yellow River, set up a cross, and proceeded to give instruction.[16] He baptized the chief with the Christian name Alexis on August 24, 1834, "under the branches of an old, shady oak tree."[17] Several other Indians were inducted into the faith on the same occasion and on the next day at Lake Maxinkuckee, a few miles to the southwest.

The following spring Deseille and Bishop Bruté[18] journeyed from South Bend to Chechaukkose's Village on the Tippecanoe, where there was an Indian chapel.[19] These Potawatomi were greatly impressed by the unprecedented visit; Deseille wrote to the Bishop afterwards: " . . . at the first news of your arrival, which spread from village to village

[14]On the tract at St. Mary's Lake Father Badin also established the first orphans' home and school in Indiana. The title to this land was conveyed to Bishop Bruté in 1835. The home and school were abandoned, but on this site seven years later the University of Notre Dame was founded. Thomas T. McAvoy, *The Catholic Church in Indiana, 1789-1834* (New York, 1940), pp. 182 ff.; James E. Deery, "The First Catholic Orphans Home of Indiana," The Catholic Historical Society of Indiana, *Bulletin No. 2,* pp. 1-4 (December, 1937).

[15]Father Louis Deseille came to America from Holland in 1832. He joined the secular clergy soon after his arrival in America, spent some time in Cincinnati, then joined Father Badin. William McNamara, *The Catholic Church on the Northern Indiana Frontier 1789-1844* (Washington, D. C., 1931), pp. 42, 63; McAvoy, "Father Badin Comes to Notre Dame," *Indiana Magazine of History,* XXIX (1933), 12.

[16]Father Deseille to Bishop Bruté, June 10, 1835, quoted in a letter from Bruté to the compiler of *Annales,* November 26, 1835, *Annales,* VIII (1835-36), No. XLIV, 325-26.

[17]Baptismal Register, University of Notre Dame Archives.

[18]Simon William Gabriel Bruté de Rémur, first Bishop of Vincennes. See Sister Maria Silesia Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur, First Bishop of Vincennes* (St. Meinrad, Indiana, 1931).

[19]Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians,* I, 240; Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur,* pp. 247-48. For Bruté's account of the trip see James Roosevelt Bayley, *Memoirs of the Right Reverend Simon Wm. Gabriel Bruté, D. D. . . .* (New York, 1873), pp. 85-90; *Annales,* VIII (1835-36), No. XLIV, 322-24.

with the swiftness of the wind, everybody—men, women, and children—donned his best spring attire, mounted on horseback, and, through quagmire and marshes, came to see the chief of the Black-robes, of whom their fathers had spoken so much, whose departure several had regretted until their last breath and died bidding their children to listen to them, if the great Lord of Life sent them again."[20]

Bishop Bruté confirmed sixteen persons at Chechaukkose's Village and in turn was offered a half section (320 acres) of land upon which to build a church and a school. He accepted the gift from the chief, but realized that it might not be possible to secure from the government the approval necessary for a legal transfer.[21]

After his superior's departure Deseille remained ten days at the Tippecanoe, instructing, baptizing, and admitting to first communion. In order to relieve the congestion he sent away the Yellow River Potawatomi, promising to visit them next. When he did, he found that this band had erected a little chapel much like the one at the Tippecanoe, close to the cross he had set up the previous autumn. Menominee and his fellows, not to be outdone in any way by Chechaukkose, gave the Church not only a half section for a chapel but another half section to be used for a school. After baptizing thirty-seven persons in six days, Deseille returned to Pokagon's Village near Niles.[22]

In a letter to the compiler of the *Annales,* Bruté expressed himself as "much touched by the piety and self-communing" of the Indians whom he met on his journey, and as sympathetic with Deseille's ambition "to train them to pastoral life." Bruté saw more clearly than the missionaries, however, that the government was threatening the security of their stations and their activities might soon be brought to an end. He wrote on November 26, 1835: "One knows that the policy of the United States is to shut them [the Indians] out from all civilized

[20]Father Deseille to Bishop Bruté, June 10, 1835, quoted in a letter from Bruté to the compiler of *Annales,* November 26, 1835, *Annales,* VIII, 324-25.

[21]Bayley, *Memoirs,* pp. 86, 87-88; Bruté to the compiler of *Annales,* in *Annales,* VIII, 324.

[22]Father Deseille to Bishop Bruté, June 10, 1835, quoted in *ibid.,* VIII, 324-27.

states and to drive all the savages back to the other side of the Mississippi."[23]

By treaties made in 1818, 1821, 1826, and 1828, the Potawatomi had ceded such a large part of their possessions in Indiana that their holdings could not be further reduced and support them in their nonagricultural way of life.[24] Meanwhile the westward white migration was increasing steadily.[25] New settlers pouring into the Indiana country clamored for more and more lands, and prodded the government to purchase the remaining Indian holdings. The inevitable result was the proposition to move the Indians beyond the Mississippi. On May 28, 1830, Congress passed a bill permitting an exchange of lands belonging to Indian tribes in states or territories east of the Mississippi for lands west of the Mississippi and making provisions to enable the Indians to remove to their new lands and "to give them such aid and assistance as may be necessary for their support and subsistence for the first year after their removal."[26]

The next negotiations with the Potawatomi reflected this policy. By the three treaties concluded with them in 1832 they gave up their title to and interest in all lands in Indiana with the exception of certain well-defined reserves, and one of these treaties, concluded on October 26, provided that if at any time the Potawatomi wished to "change their residence," the amount of goods necessary for their migration would be provided by the government.[27]

The efforts of the government agents[28] were now bent

[23]*Ibid.*, VIII, 323.

[24]Kappler (ed.), *Laws and Treaties,* II, 168-69, 198-201, 273-76, 294-97.

[25]The white population in Indiana had increased from an estimated 6,550 in 1800 to 344,508 in 1830. Logan Esarey, *A History of Indiana from Its Exploration to 1850* (2 volumes. Fort Wayne, 1924), I, 175, 315.

[26]U. S. *Statutes at Large,* IV, 411-12.

[27]Kappler (ed.), *Laws and Treaties,* II, 353-56, 367-70, 372-74.

[28]From 1789 to 1849 the Office of Indian Affairs was a part of the War Department under the direction of the Secretary of War. In 1832 the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs was created, and in 1834 the Office of Indian Affairs was set up under the Commissioner, within the War Department. To it fell the duties of overseeing trade and commerce and treating with the Indians. From 1831 to 1836 the removal of the Indians to the West was under the direction of the Commissary General of Subsistence. In the latter year this duty was transferred to the Indian Office.

toward enrolling as many of the Indians as could be persuaded to acquiesce in removal to new lands in the West. In 1833 Colonel Abel C. Pepper, subagent for Indiana, was appointed to superintend the removal of the Indiana Indians. In that year upwards of two hundred and fifty Potawatomi were gathered together at Logansport, but most of them fled from the camp before the removal started and only about seventy reached the Mississippi. During the next year several more parties made the journey, but the process was slow.

In 1834 William Marshall, Indian agent for Indiana, was instructed by Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, to make further efforts to secure the reserves still remaining in Indian possession in Indiana, and it was proposed that this could be done most successfully by treating with the separate bands rather than with the Potawatomi nation.[29] During December, 1834, Marshall concluded a number of treaties with Potawatomi bands by which he purchased 52,800 acres of land for the government out of their reserves. He secured most of this at the rate of fifty cents an acre, but in a few instances was obliged to pay sixty-two and a half cents.[30] When these treaties were sent to President Jackson, he submitted only four of them to the Senate for ratification and withheld the others. Three of the four which were approved were made with Comoza and his band, Muck Rose and his band, and Mota and his band. They provided for the complete relinquishment of the reserves granted to these bands in 1832 and carried the promise of the Indians to yield peaceable possession within three years. In the last-named treaty Mota and his band agreed to remove to a country provided for them west of the Mississippi River within the three-year period. By the fourth treaty which was approved, the Potawatomi tribe ceded two sections of land on the Tippecanoe River, including their mills, granted them in

[29]Lewis Cass to William Marshall, July 12, 1834, Newton D. Mereness Calendar of papers in the National Archives, Indiana State Library (hereafter cited as Mereness Calendar), Indian Office, Letters Received, Miami. Cass was secretary of war from 1831 to 1836.

[30]William Marshall to Lewis Cass, January 1, 1835, enclosing copies of eleven treaties negotiated by him with bands of Potawatomi, photostats in Matthews Collection, Indiana State Library, from Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi.

1832; the services of a miller furnished them by the government were to be discontinued.[31]

The treaties which Jackson withheld from the Senate provided for the purchase of parts of reserves, the remaining parts to be divided among individual members of the bands. The case of Menominee's reserve on the Yellow River serves as a good example. In 1832 twenty-two sections (14,080 acres) of land on the Yellow River, south of Plymouth, were granted to Menominee, Peepenawah, Notawkah, and Makkahtahmoway and their bands. William Marshall contracted to purchase eleven sections of the reserve for the government, the remaining eleven sections to become the property of individual Indians including Menominee, Makkahtahmoway, and Notawkah.[32] To this arrangement Jackson objected, on the grounds that it would deprive most of the members of the bands of their just claim to an interest in the reserves.[33] The arrangement was unacceptable to Secretary Cass, also, for he was adverse to any partial removal of the Indians, believing firmly that "they ought all speedily to go."[34]

Marshall resigned as agent in February, 1835, and Jackson sent to Pepper the unratified treaties with the request that he inform the Potawatomi that, when they signified a willingness to sell their lands and remove west, the President would authorize negotiations for that object.[35]

Spurred on by pressure from the Indian Office and from the growing white population, Colonel Pepper determined to remove all obstacles that might in any way hinder him from accomplishing his task. When Father Deseille visited the Yellow River Potawatomi in 1835, it was recognized that his presence might prejudice their removal. A priest who wished

[31]Kappler (ed.), *Laws and Treaties,* II, 428-31.

[32]Marshall to Cass, January 1, 1835, Matthews Collection.

[33]John Tipton to Governor David Wallace, September 18, 1838, in Indiana *Senate Journal,* 1838-39, p. 728.

[34]George Gibson to Abel C. Pepper, February 27, 1835, Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letters Received, Miscellaneous.

[35]John Tipton to Lewis Cass, March 7, 1835, photostat in Tipton Papers, Indiana State Library, from Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi and Miami; Abel C. Pepper to Lewis Cass, May 16, 1835, Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi.

"to train them to pastoral life" promised to become a formidable barrier in the way of the chosen policy. In January, 1835, and again in July, Pepper wrote to George Gibson, Commissary General of Subsistence, that Catholic priests were alleged to be interfering with the operations of the removal of the Potawatomi. During the next months it was reported to him that Father Deseille held meetings with the Indians, advised them not to sell their lands but to build a church, settle together in one village, and reject the proposition of the government to remove west.[36] Pepper thereupon requested that whenever Deseille assembled any of the Indians within the Indian agency, he inform Pepper of it, and added that it might be necessary to furnish an authorized interpreter for these occasions to insure that there would be no talk or speeches which might incite the Indians toward a violation of the existing laws and treaties. He referred the priest to an act approved June 30, 1834, to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indians, which placed heavy penalty on anyone attempting to "produce contravention or infraction of any treaty of the United States."[37]

Whatever Deseille's opinion of a governmental attitude that threatened the existence of his mission, his replies to Pepper were friendly and co-operative. He promised to comply with the agent's request and added: "I have not the least objection to this—my business with the Indians being only about their spiritual concerns." He even inquired whether Pepper would prefer to have the Indians discontinue their attendance at the Sunday and festival meetings in the village.[38]

This brought from Pepper the assurance that he had no objections to any course of religious instruction among the

[36]Abel C. Pepper to the Commissary General of Subsistence, January 17, 1835, Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi; Abel C. Pepper to Lewis Cass, October 16, 1835, Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi.

[37]Abel C. Pepper to Father Deseille, August 7, 1835, Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi; U. S. *Statutes at Large,* IV, 731.

[38]Father Deseille to Abel C. Pepper, October 10, 1835, Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi; Deseille to Pepper, November 10, 1835, "Documents: Correspondence on Indian Removal, Indiana, 1835-1838," *Mid-America,* XV (1932-1933), 178.

Indians that did not "infringe the laws of the United States nor interfere with the humane policy of the government." He added that it would give him pleasure to have Deseille call on him for an exchange of views.[39]

Commissary General Gibson, upon whose department lay the responsibility of conducting an emigration, asked Deseille for an explanation of the actions attributed to him, declaring that he was reluctant to believe that the priest would adopt a course "calculated to impede the progress of measures adopted, in the judgement of the Government to promote the wellfare of the indians." Father Deseille declared himself innocent of all charges made against him. His visits to the Indiana Potawatomi had been made only with consent of their agent, William Marshall, and their great distance from Pokagon's Village in Michigan where he lived made it impossible for him to visit them more than two or three times a year. He attributed to Marshall the efforts to concentrate the tribe into villages. As to the building of a church by the Indians on Yellow River, he explained: "I could not but approve it but I deemed it useless being convinced that it was not possible for them to stay much longer in that country without being protected by the laws against encroachment of the Whites and for this reason I would not take one step to begin and after several repeated solicitations I told them that I did not see any possibility for them to remain in this country unless they should get from their great father the President the favor of being subject to the laws as white people and this I did not tell them before I had ascertained myself that the intention of the Government was not to remove all the Indians to the West but rather to extinguish their nationality—so I was told by persons in office whom I supposed to be well acquainted with the proceedings of the Government."

Gibson's far too reassuring reply reveals either a lack of unity or a duplicity in the policy of the War Department. He informed Deseille that there would be no further inquiry into his actions, and stated further that Potawatomi chiefs who had visited Washington in November, 1835, had been told that

[39]Abel C. Pepper to Father Deseille, October 20, 1835, *ibid.*, XV, 177.

they would not be disturbed by the government so long as they wished to remain in Indiana.[40]

Upon this, Deseille set about to expand and improve his mission, confident that there would be nothing to interrupt its progress. He requested an appropriation out of the fund voted by Congress for civilizing the Indians to be expended on a school at the Yellow River reserve. He wrote frankly to Pepper, "I am quite confident, sir, you will not make any difficulty to permit me as heretofore to continue the moral and religious instruction of the Indians of your agency; viz. those of the village of Menomina, Chechacose and Ashkum who all have received the same favor [that they could remain as long as they wished] by a rescript of the Secretary of War in January, 1836." In April, 1836, Menominee and Makkahtahmoway also asked for an appropriation for the education of the youths of their tribe, and shortly afterward the sum of $300 was allowed.[41]

This trend of affairs was exasperating and embarrassing to Pepper. He requested Deseille to take no steps toward establishing himself permanently among the Potawatomi[42] and wrote to John Tipton:[43] "If the Sec. of War. or Commissary Gen did give such assurences, why was I not advised of it? I have felt it to be my duty constantly to repeat to the Indians

[40]George Gibson to Father Deseille, November 3, 1835, and January 22, 1836, Indian Office, Commissary General of Subsistence, Letter Book, volume C, 329, 420; Deseille to Gibson, December 28, 1835, "Documents," *Mid-America,* XV, 179-80.

[41]Father Deseille to Abel C. Pepper, March 21, 1836, "Documents," *Mid-America,* XV, 182; Menominee and Makkahtahmoway to Elbert Herring, April 14, 1836, Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letters Received, Indiana; Lewis Cass to John Tipton, April 19, 1836, Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letter Book, volume 18, pp. 315-16.

[42]Abel C. Pepper to Father Deseille, April 18, 1836, "Documents," *Mid-America,* XV, 183.

[43]Abel C. Pepper to John Tipton, April 16, 1836, Tipton Papers, Indiana State Library. Tipton was a member of the United States Senate from Indiana from 1832 to 1839. From 1823 to 1831 he had served as agent to the Miami and Potawatomi, first at Fort Wayne then at Logansport, and his success in winning the confidence of the Indians was notable. As a member of the Senate he served on committees dealing with military affairs, Indian affairs, and public lands. Tipton Papers, Indiana State Library.

that the President would no *longer listen* to any arguments in favor of their remaining in this Country. And are my speec[h]es thus made to be contradicted, and my authority and influence to be destroyed, by the action of the Government, without my knowledge? I failed in a late effert to conclude a treaty with the Yellow river band, wholy on account as the Chief aleged, of a paper which he said the Priest had authorizing the band to remain permanently on their reservation—build Churches, School houses &c. . . . I shall be glad to be advised what has been said to Me-nom-mi-na or the Priest on this subject."

But Pepper's success was close at hand: one by one he was committing the remaining bands of Potawatomi to emigration. On March 26, 1836, he negotiated a treaty with the Potawatomi of Turkey Creek Prairie (near the head of the Yellow River); on March 29 and April 11 at the Tippecanoe (where Chechaukkose's band lived); on April 22 at Logansport; on August 5 at the Yellow River (ostensibly with Menominee's band); and on September 20, 22, and 23 at Chippewaynaung on the Wabash. By these treaties the Potawatomi agreed to sell to the government all their claims to land in Indiana and promised to remove to lands provided for them beyond the Mississippi within two years. The treaties were all ratified by the Senate.[44] How he managed to wear the Indian resistance down can only be imagined, but following the treaty of the Yellow River, concluded on August 5, by which the twenty-two sections comprising Menominee's Reserve were sold, there was a great storm of protest.

It will be remembered that this reservation was granted in 1832 to Menominee, Peepenawah, Makkahtahmoway, and Notawkah and their bands. Menominee's name, which headed the list in 1832, does not appear among the signers of the treaty of 1836, and strenuous efforts were made to prove that the treaty was a fraud. Government officers attributed to Deseille the leadership in the opposition. Arguments against the validity of the treaty were that those who signed it were not the proper chiefs and that there was much drinking at the treaty grounds. In turn the priest was alleged to have ob-

[44]Kappler (ed.), *Laws and Treaties*, II, 450, 457-59, 462-63, 470, 471-72.

tained from Menominee and perhaps others a title to the reserve and to have incited the Indians to fight the treaty.[45]

On November 4 the Potawatomi of the Yellow River sent to John Tipton a protest against the sale which Tipton forwarded to Carey A. Harris, then Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Harris acknowledged the receipt of this and of a similar plea from Chechaukkose and others, but let the matter drop.[46] Protests dated November 15, 1836, and April 6, 1837, were sent to President Van Buren and Secretary of War Cass. On May 15 and June 12, the Yellow River Potawatomi again appealed to the President, declaring that they had not made a treaty with Colonel Pepper the preceding August.[47]

It is likely that Deseille was instrumental in sending these papers to Washington, sincerely feeling that the Indians were being defrauded. Lewis H. Sands, an assistant superintendent of the emigration, made a tour of the Potawatomi villages in Indiana in the spring of 1837, and in May reported that he had found all the bands convinced that they had given up their lands and ready to move except at the Yellow River village. He called upon Deseille. "He appeared willing to give me an answer to my queries," Sands wrote to Pepper, "and I am perfectly convinced that he has made this band of Indians believe that they have not sold their reservation. . . . Unless his influence is curtailed and he stopped from making misrepresentations relative to the treaty and object of the government, we may not expect to emigrate but a portion of this band."[48]

Citing the act of June 30, 1834, as his authority, Pepper delivered to the priest, through Sands, a kind of ultimatum,

[45]George W. Ewing and Cyrus Taber to John Tipton, August 21, 1836, Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi.

[46]Protest to John Tipton by Potawatomi of Yellow River, November 4, 1836, Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi; John Tipton to Carey A. Harris, December 18, 1836, Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letters Received, Indiana; Harris to Tipton, December 29, 1836, Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letter Book, volume 20, p. 351.

[47]Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi and Indiana. See also *post*, pp. 38, 41.

[48]Lewis H. Sands to Abel C. Pepper, May 11, 1837, "Documents," *Mid-America*, XV, 183-84.

ordering him, as an alien, to leave the public lands, or, as an alternative, to stay and attempt to prove himself a citizen. In the latter event he announced that the priest would be prosecuted for disturbing the peace among the Indians and attempting to alienate them from the government. Upon this the missionary left the reserve.[49]

Shortly after Deseille's departure Miss Campeau received the following curt note from Sands: "You are hereby required to leave the Indian reservation purchased by Government *forthwith.* M Deselle cannot be allowed to evade the penalties of the law by leaveing yourself in possession of his house. Mr. Nash is authorised to demand and take possession of the House in which M. Deselle resided for the use of Government And you expected to depart immediately."[50]

Pepper, feeling perhaps that these steps may have been too drastic, sought approval of his actions from Commissioner Harris, in a letter of May 31. Harris replied that the department concurred fully in the course that had been taken.[51]

Deseille remained in the neighborhood. The following September he spent two weeks at Pokagon's Village in Michigan, then made his way on foot to his home at St. Mary's Lake. He fell ill after his arrival there, and died on September 26.[52]

In the late summer and early fall of 1837, between four and five hundred Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi from

[49]Abel C. Pepper to Father Deseille, May 16, 1837, and Lewis H. Sands to Abel C. Pepper, May 20, 1837, *ibid.*, XV, 185-87.

[50]Lewis H. Sands to Mamzelle Liggate (Angelique Campeau), May 28, 1837, photostat in University of Notre Dame Archives from original in Chancery Office, at Indianapolis. The priest had acknowledged to Sands that he had a contract signed by the Indians of the Yellow River reserve granting his Bishop one section of the reserve including the church and the house in which the priest resided. See *ante*, p. 16; Sands to Abel C. Pepper, May 20, 1837, "Documents," *Mid-America,* XV, 186-87.

[51]Abel C. Pepper to Carey A. Harris, May 31, 1837, *ibid.*, XV, 188; Harris to Pepper, June 16, 1837, Indian Office, Letter Book, volume 21, p. 500.

[52]A description of Father Deseille's death is given in, "Missionaries of Indiana,—First Rev. C. De Seille," *Ave Maria,* I, No. 30, pp. 474-75 (December 9, 1865); *Annales,* X (1837-38), No. LX, 556; Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur,* pp. 327, 347.

the Chicago Agency were removed to Council Bluffs subagency, and smaller parties of Potawatomi emigrated from Indiana. The government agents meanwhile continued to exert a constant pressure on the remaining bands.

In the midst of this anxious season Angelique Campeau, now living at Plymouth, asked Bishop Bruté to send a new father to take Deseille's place.[53] The nearest priests were at Chicago, Logansport, and Fort Wayne, far too remote to visit the Catholic Potawatomi or the increasing white population around South Bend. In answer to this plea Bishop Bruté dispatched his well-loved, newly ordained young priest, Father Benjamin Marie Petit, to carry on as well as he could the task of missionary and father.

Petit was born at Rennes, France, Bruté's native city, on April 8, 1811. He was graduated from the University at Rennes in 1829 and made a brilliant record at the law school from which he graduated in 1832. After three years as a successful advocate he renounced his profession and entered the Seminary of St. Sulpice[54] to become a priest. Perhaps Bishop Bruté's presence in the city accounted for Petit's decision, for Bruté had journeyed to France to secure funds and priests for his newly formed diocese, and it is likely that he encouraged the young man in abandonment of the law for the church.[55]

In April, 1836, Petit wrote to his widowed mother, Mme. Chauvin Petit, that he was soon to leave for America with Bishop Bruté. On April 14 Paul Petit, Benjamin's younger brother, addressed a protest against this decision to Bruté which was soon followed by one from his mother. Their op-

[53]Angelique Campeau to Bishop Bruté, September 30, 1837, photostat in University of Notre Dame Archives of original in Chancery Office, at Indianapolis. This contains a note from some of the Catholic Indians strengthening Mlle. Campeau's plea, which is signed by "Jeneie or Sinigo. Markartamwa. Menomine. Peppenarwha. Weishekmar."

[54]The Seminary of St. Sulpice was a Catholic school founded at Paris by Jean-Jacques Olier in 1642. It became an important place for training clerics. Branches were established in Canada in 1657 and in the United States in 1791. *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* XIII (1912), 378-80.

[55]Data in the Archives d'Ille-et-Vilaine, Rennes; *Annales,* XI (1838-39), No. LXV, 382-83.

position to Benjamin's departure to the mission field was based largely upon his delicate health, especially a weakness in the chest which demanded constant attention. Bruté called upon Mme. Petit, apparently to try to assuage her fears, for Benjamin showed no signs of changing his plans. Another lengthy expostulation from Paul and two more from Mme. Petit were of no avail. Benjamin's letters show from the beginning that he longed for missionary fields and placed himself entirely in the hands of his Bishop.[56]

Petit sailed with Bruté and the group he had gathered together on June 1, 1836. The boat docked in New York on July 21, and the party divided. Two priests were sent directly to the northern part of the Vincennes diocese—one to Chicago and one to Fort Wayne. Bruté took five of the group to Maryland to study English at Mount St. Mary's at Emmitsburg. Of the remaining eleven, three, including Petit, were sent through Pittsburgh to bring the heavy baggage down the Ohio, and eight accompanied the Bishop to Louisville by way of Cincinnati, then to Vincennes. Petit and his comrades arrived several weeks after the Bishop.[57]

The young man remained for the time at Vincennes. On December 16, 1836, he received his minor orders, and two days later he was made a subdeacon.[58] In June, 1837, he accompanied Bruté on a visit to Father François[59] at Logansport. Hearing of Deseille's expulsion from the public lands the previous month, they proceeded to South Bend, where they spent several days. They also visited the German colony ministered

[56]Photostats of the letters from Mme. Petit and Paul Petit to Bishop Bruté, dated April 14, 16, 21, 23, and 25, 1836, are in the University of Notre Dame Archives. The original letters are in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

[57]Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur,* pp. 274-77, 279-80.

[58]Herman J. Alerding, *A History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Vincennes* (Indianapolis, 1883), p. 226; Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur,* p. 293.

[59]Father Claude François came to America as a missionary in 1835. He was stationed first at Fort Wayne, then in 1836 was transferred to Logansport to replace the Reverend Patrick O'Bierne (O'Byrne). *Ibid.,* pp. 240, 284; Alerding, *History of the Catholic Church,* p. 238; McNamara, *Catholic Church on the Northern Indiana Frontier,* p. 78.

to by the Reverend Louis Mueller[60] near Fort Wayne and the neighboring Miami reservation, returning to Vincennes after traveling six hundred miles.[61]

On September 23 Petit was elevated to the deaconship, the last step before priesthood. When he had entered the missionary field, he had asked as a particular favor "to be sent to the Indians so soon as he would have been prepared for the priesthood."[62] The need for someone to replace Father Deseille probably brought the call sooner than Bishop Bruté wanted it for his young charge, but it was accepted hopefully and eagerly.

The following letters written by Petit, beginning April 17, 1836, shortly before his departure for America, and continuing to a few days before his death, tell the story of his trials and joys as a missionary, and give a vivid description of the expulsion of the Potawatomi from Indiana.

[60]Father Mueller was among the party which accompanied Bruté to America in 1836. Upon his arrival he went directly to Fort Wayne. Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur,* pp. 277, 289; *Valley of the Upper Maumee River* (2 volumes. Brant & Fuller, Madison, Wis., 1889), II, 412, 413, 429, 432.

[61]Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur,* pp. 310-11, 318.

[62]*Ibid.,* p. 328; Alerding, *History of the Catholic Church,* pp. 167, 226.

LETTERS OF BENJAMIN MARIE PETIT

Petit to Bishop Bruté, April 17, 1836

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA[1]]

St. Sulpice, 17 April, 1836.

Monseigneur,

I was preparing, following what had been agreed upon, to leave tomorrow and join you at Rennes, when a letter came from my mother asking me in the name of obedience not to depart from the seminary before she had had the honor of seeing you and had given me permission to depart. One of my brothers,[2] Mother tells me, was to have the honor of writing to you in my behalf.

M. Fayon[3] tells me that, as my journey to Rennes was only to give pleasure to my mother, it must be postponed, since she appears to want it to be, unless you, Monseigneur, wish otherwise to dispose of me, who am and will always be with the grace of God ready to obey all that you have the goodness to tell me in the smallest as well as in the greatest things, because I desire only the will of God, and I regard you as the interpreter of that holy will to me.

I shall await your reply before departing, Monseigneur, or rather, as your moments are so precious, please have M. de la Hailandière[4] write to me what you wish me to do: I shall do it instantly.

M. du Merle[5] leaves tomorrow to visit his family.

[1]The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

[2]Paul Petit. *Ante,* pp. 26-27.

[3]Evidently the rector of the seminary.

[4]Celestin René Lawrence Guynemer de la Hailandière, second Bishop of Vincennes, was born in Brittany, May 2, 1798. He was ordained a deacon in 1824, entered St. Sulpice in Paris, and became a priest May 28, 1825. With Petit, he accompanied Bruté to America in 1836. He served as vicar-general of the diocese, and, in 1839, upon the death of Bruté, he was consecrated Bishop. Alerding, *History of the Catholic Church,* pp. 162 ff.

[5]Charles du Merle also accompanied Bruté to America in 1836, and was ordained a subdeacon by him on the same day as Petit. Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur,* pp. 273, 293; Alerding, *History of the Catholic Church,* p. 226.

We always pray here, Monseigneur, for you and for the mission, confident that you do not forget us either before the good Lord.

Please accept the expression of veneration, devotion and gratitude with which I am, Monseigneur,

Your very humble servant and happy son in Jesus Christ,

B. Petit,

Tonsured Clerk.

Messieurs de St. Palais,[6] Buteux,[7] du Merle charge me, Monseigneur, to convey to you their respectful homage.

[Addressed:] Monseigneur Bruté Bishop of Vincennes, at the diocese of Nantes, Nantes.

Petit to Mme. Chauvin Petit, October 15, 1837

[Translated from *Annales,* XI (1838-39), No. lxv, 383-85]

I am now a priest, and the hand which is writing to you bore Jesus Christ this morning![8] How can I express to you all I should like to say, and yet how can I not wish to say something of what no tongue can express? My hand is consecrated to God; my voice now has a power to which God Himself is docile. How my lips trembled this morning at my first Mass when, at the *Memento,*[9] I commended you all to God! And so shall I again tomorrow, and the day after, and every day of my life until the last! . . .

[6]James M. Maurice de Long d'Aussac de St. Palais, fourth Bishop of Vincennes. He was ordained a priest at the age of twenty-five and accompanied Bruté to Vincennes in 1836. He served successively at a station six miles north of the site of Loogootee, at Logansport, and at Madison. In 1847 he became vicar-general and superior of the ecclesiastical seminary at Vincennes, under Bishop John Steven Bazin. He was consecrated Bishop of Vincennes on January 14, 1849, and died June 28, 1877. Alerding, *History of the Catholic Church,* pp. 190 ff.

[7]Father Stanislaus Buteau was one of the party which accompanied Bishop Bruté to America in 1836. In 1837 he founded St. Mary's parish at Terre Haute and became its first resident priest. He remained there until 1842. Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur,* p. 273; H. C. Bradsby, *History of Vigo County, Indiana* . . . (Chicago, 1891), p. 595; Alerding, *History of the Catholic Church,* p. 445.

[8]That is, Petit said Mass. He had been ordained a priest the day before, October 14, at Vincennes by Bishop Bruté.

[9]*Memento vivorum,* prayers for the living, a regular part of the Mass.

When I think that in two days I shall start from here all alone, going nearly three hundred miles to bestow sacraments —graces ratified in heaven—among people whom I do not know at all, but to whom God sends me—[10] I tremble at the thought of my nothingness. When I see myself going forward, as we often do here, in the company of God, who reposes on my breast[11] night and day, carrying on my horse the instruments of the great Sacrifice,[12] stopping from time to time in the depths of the forest, and making the hut of an obscure Catholic the palace of the King of Glory—how deeply do I feel myself penetrated by St. Paul's thought, that God loves to accomplish great things by using that which is nothing: *Ea quae non sunt*![13]

Ah, then I abandon myself willingly, and, I must say, at that time which is so important in my life, I have not yet felt anything painful! All has been the sweet rapture of God's will, who Himself ordains and executes through His grace. Ah, with what delight I put my trust in Him! Pray much for me; now is the time. . . .

I had been a deacon since September 24, when a black-sealed letter came one evening, announcing that M. Deseille, a missionary among the Indians for seven years, was dead. He had sent word beforehand to his two nearest neighbors, at Chicago and Logansport, but one was very sick, and the other, who had been in bed for several weeks, was too enfeebled to travel seventy-five miles. M. Deseille had to die alone—ah, Mary must have helped him! This is without doubt one of the severest tests of missionaries; but, since they expose themselves to the danger only for their love of God, He, being so good, does not abandon them without succor to death; and, if He deprives them of a priest's presence, assuredly it is to embellish their crown of virtues with a final sacrifice. Indeed I

[10]The distance from Vincennes to South Bend by way of Terre Haute, Covington, Lafayette, Logansport, and South Bend—the route followed by Petit—is about 265 miles. See Petit's Journal, *post*, pp. 119-20.

[11]The Eucharist.

[12]The Mass kit.

[13]"As base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are." I Corinthians, 1:28.

think He accords this favor only to those who are His sainted friends.

From the first moment Monseigneur resolved to send me to the deceased's residence to settle his affairs. But I was about to make the journey as a deacon, when a letter from M. François arrived from Logansport, expressing his sorrow at finding himself reduced by illness to refusing his ministrations to those who were dying in his congregation. I was very moved while reading this letter. Monseigneur was preparing for the ordination of an Irish priest[14] the following week. He had said many times in speaking to me of my journey: "You must become a priest." But he knew that I wanted time, and he himself wished it for me. Yet I felt myself forced to tell him that in the present state of affairs I should not have any objection to my ordination, if he judged it expedient. My words fell in with his intentions: from then on my ordination was decided upon. A priest yesterday, I said my first Mass today, and in two days I shall go to South Bend to console a tribe of Indians who have addressed a touching petition to Monseigneur for a new priest. At the same time I shall be with poor M. François, the missionary at Logansport. I am not at all frightened, for I have faith in the One whose minister I am; but pray for me—I shall be seventy-five miles from the nearest priest, left to myself, but supported by the strong arm of my God.[15]

I shall conclude this glorious day by telling you that the dominant feeling in me is a profound joy under the burden of newly contracted obligations. I know not whether I should have some inquietude, but I feel so light at heart, so happy, so content, that I am wholly overwhelmed by it. To go from Mass to Mass to heaven! . . .

You know how I often said I was born lucky—well! I can still say it, and God has treated me on my first mission like a

[14]John Plunkett. Alerding, *History of the Catholic Church,* p. 226; Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur,* p. 328.

[15]The stations which Petit was to attend included St. Mary's of the Lake, South Bend, Pokagon's Village, Bertrand, Michigan City, and the various Indian villages in southern Michigan and northern Indiana. McAvoy, "Father Badin Comes to Notre Dame," *Indiana Magazine of History,* XXIX, 13.

spoiled child![16] I had always longed for a mission among the savages; we have only one in Indiana; and it is I whom the Potawatomi will call their "Father Black-Robe."

Petit to His Family, November 24 (?),[17] 1837

[Translated from *Annales*, XI (1838-39), No. LXV, 385-87]

I have stayed twenty-one days among them.[18] This is the life we led during that time: At sunrise the first bell rang, and you would have seen the savages come along the forest paths and the shores of the lakes. There are four adjoining each other, and the church is built on a hillock on the shore of the largest.[19] When they arrived, the second bell rang. While waiting for the laggards to assemble, the catechist gave in an animated manner the substance of the previous day's sermon. Then they recited a chapter of the catechism and the morning prayer. I said Mass between hymns, after which I preached, my sermon being translated by a respectable French demoiselle[20] of seventy-two years who has consecrated herself in the capacity of an interpreter to the work of the missions. Then they concluded with a *Pater* and an *Ave,* sang:

In thy protection do we trust,
O Virgin, meek and mild,

and left the chapel.

Then it was time for me to hear confessions until evening, sometimes even after supper. At sunset they came together again for catechism, followed by an exhortation, evening

[16]This is the term Bishop Bruté affectionately applied to the young priest. "Missionaries of Indiana,—First Rev. C. De Seille," *Ave Maria,* I, No. 30, p. 474.

[17]No date for this letter is given in the *Annales,* but it was probably written on the twenty-fourth. Petit says that he has spent twenty-one days at the Yellow River, and, in his letter to the Bishop, *post,* p. 35, that he arrived there on the third of November.

[18]The Potawatomi Indians on the Yellow River reserve.

[19]About halfway between Plymouth and Hibbard, near the Yellow River, is a cluster of seven small bodies of water, four of which—Cook, Nichols, Myers, and Lawrence—are called "lakes." These evidently are the four to which Petit refers. They have probably varied in size from time to time, and it is difficult to decide which is the largest, but according to local tradition the site of the church is on the north side of Cook Lake.

[20]Angelique Campeau.

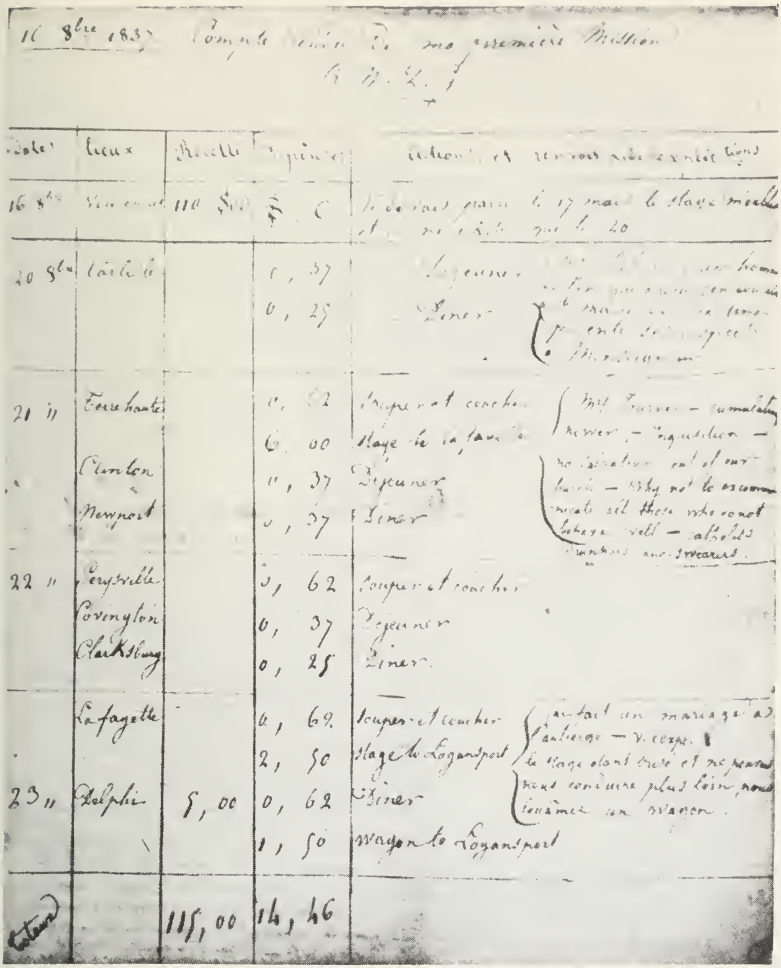
prayer, the hymn to the Virgin, and I gave them my blessing—poor Benjamin's blessing!

But God has done great things through me: *Fecit mihi magna qui potens est!* Many had the holy habit of taking communion frequently, and, deprived as they had been since the death of M. Deseille, they had practiced spiritual communion with all the ardor of a pious longing. I have baptized eighteen adults and blessed nine marriages. The proselytism of these good people is wonderful: they leave their homes and go far away to be with those who desire to be made Christians, to teach them what they must know. Each of the newly baptized who was not an inhabitant of the village took away with him a young man who knew how to read and who went with him solely to teach the prayers and the catechism.

Shall I tell you now how much they have become attached to me in such a little time? "We were orphans," they said to me, "and as if in darkness, but you appeared among us like a great light, and we live. You have taken the place of our father who died, and we shall do nothing without your advice."

"I do not hold the hearts of others in my hand," said an old man, his eyes filled with tears, while pressing my hand, "but mine will never forget what you have spoken. While you were among us, if we had any sorrow, we came to you, and you consoled us. To whom shall we go when you have departed?"

When, passing by a wigwam, I raised the mat which serves as a door and thrust in my head to say to them, "Good day, my children!" if you had seen their frank smiles in replying to me, "Good day, Father!"—if you had heard them ask me permission with the simplicity of children to go on their fall hunt and, when they had received my blessing and the little paper on which I indicated the fast days for them, take leave of me in such filial and childlike manner—if you had seen their heavy spirits when they knelt in a silent circle about me at the moment I was to leave—you would understand why, in bidding this first farewell, I felt again in my heart something of that feeling which I knew for the first time when I left Rennes: that day I left my family again.



Dates	Lieux	Recette	Dépenses	Actions et remarques extraordinaires
16 8bre	Vincennes	110 $	F. C	Je devais partir le 17 mais le stage manqua et ne partit que le 20
20 8bre	Carlisle		0, 37	Déjeuner
			0, 25	Dîner
21 "	Fort Hunter		0, 62	Souper et coucher
			0, 00	Stage de la station
	Clinton		0, 37	Déjeuner
	Newport		0, 37	Dîner
22 "	Perysville		0, 62	Souper et coucher
	Pavington		0, 37	Déjeuner
	Clarksburg		0, 25	Dîner.
	Lafayette		0, 69	Souper et coucher
			2, 50	Stage de Logansport
23 "	Delphie	5, 00	0, 62	Dîner
			1, 50	Wagon de Logansport
Total		115, 00	14, 46	

First Page of Father Petit's Journal

Petit to Bishop Bruté, November 27, 1837

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA[21]]

South Bend, 27 November, 1837.

Monseigneur,

Here I am back from my journey and my mission among the Indians, and today I must give you a general report.

I arrived on the 3d at the reserve of Chichipé Outipé[22] and left again on the 25th; from the 4th to the 20th confessions did not leave me a moment to myself. Since the 20th I have been freer.

I performed 28 baptisms, 18 of which were of adults; 9 marriages; 138 communions, some of which were first communions. I brought divine grace to a sick woman in a ceremony including all my Indians. I administered extreme unction and officiated at an interment.

If it were now necessary to retrace everything my heart has felt, paper would not suffice. I shall only tell you, Monseigneur, that my soul, overwhelmed by the sweetnesses of the Lord's favor, does not know how to thank Him and you, His interpreter, for having granted me this wonderful beginning in the holy ministry. Not that sometimes there do not arise certain clouds, certain anxieties, but they are calmed by prayer and trust in God.

These good Indians have given me their confidence so entirely, they surround me with so much filial attachment, that it is only by weeping and rending my heart that I tear myself away from their touching farewells, carrying off in my heart something of the sentiment which I knew for the first time two years ago when I left my mother and brothers.

An Indian sends me two messages to ask me whether I should like to admit him to confession. I naturally reply, "Yes." He comes, gloomy as the night, sad, racked with deep pain. This is the situation: This man, a good Christian, had

[21]The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

[22]"He [Petit] calls his mission 'Chichipe Outipe,' which I have not yet been able to identify, but the first word is apparently She-she-pa which is the Potawatomi word for 'duck.'" Dunn, *True Indian Stories,* pp. 241, 258. This is apparently a term that the Indians applied to Petit, also. See *post,* p. 62.

before his baptism a wife whose temperament did not agree with his. He sends her away and takes another. M. Deseille wants him to return to his first wife, but he doesn't want to. The priest forbids him to enter the chapel and deprives him of prayer. He remains good for a year, praying and presenting himself for confession, but M. Deseille refuses to receive him, even for confession, if he is unwilling to take his first wife again. But his heart has partaken of piety, and this is not life for him. He comes to confession, and I question him, warned by Mlle. Campeau. At the very first words I learn that the first wife, whom he had left, was, when he married her, his brother's widow (a way out!), and I tell him to come back in the evening with his present wife. I made inquiries about the situation in the meantime. I reprimand them for having married thus without the benediction and against the will of the priest, and then I announce to them that on the following Sunday I shall marry them (it is Thursday). I forbid them to live conjugally until that day and order them to spend the time in fasting, prayer, and meditation of their sins. On Sunday they come back to confession. I announce and explain the marriage so that there may be neither astonishment nor scandal, and I have them take their places again among their brethren. As a result of this, life has returned to the heart and countenance of this man; it is one of the greatest joys I have ever experienced.

One Saturday evening a girl of eighteen or nineteen years comes to confession. We notice that she speaks with difficulty. She finishes her confession and goes away. Evening comes, very dark and rainy. Two little Indians arrive and consult me about this girl, who fell into convulsions on the way home. I take a woolen blanket, wrap myself in it like an Indian, and my guides and I [go forth], each with a torch in his hand which spreads a dubious light on the way through the woods when he waves it. There are creeks to cross on tree trunks by this light. We arrive. The poor girl has not been well for several days, and, upon returning home, fell into the fire unconscious, they thought. I give extreme unction by the light of the fire burning in the center of the Indian hut. I start to withdraw, but they appear to want me to stay, and I

stay. I sleep for a moment on a mat; then I remain awake in their midst. I have them sleep by turns. I speak to them with some Indian words learned from M. Deseille and many gestures learned from my mother, from France. The night passes, the moon looking down upon us from on high and revealed by the hole through which the smoke escapes.

Two days later the mother comes to confession and tells me that her daughter spoke only to say: "I have seen my Father. Pray to God for me. I cannot speak, but I see and hear. Tell him to ask God that I may die or that I may recover quickly." When I have a moment in the evening (this was in the last few days), I go there, saying my breviary. I say my Complin[23] with the dying woman, then the prayers of the dying, then a last absolution. A half hour afterward the report of a rifle informs us of her death. I hurry immediately to those at the chapel, where we pray for her.

A thousand things and details as moving must wait for another time. I should like to ask you for the privilege of benediction and indulgence of the cross and chaplets, the privilege of *in mortis articulo,* if you can grant them to me.

. . . . . .

How am I to give dispensation to Mme. Brouillette for the impediments of affinity contracted by having responded at the baptism of her daughter?[24] May I do it by a single voluntary act from here, or is it necessary to make the journey and give her dispensation at her home? She knows nothing of it; it is 100 miles there and back.

What about a good man quite ready for baptism who does not want to be baptized because it will then be necessary to marry and his present Christian wife has too melancholy a temperament? He is waiting for her to change before he binds himself to her forever, and so at present refuses his baptism.

A woman's unfaithful, bigamous husband becomes converted. She has custody of the children. Is it necessary to

[23]The liturgical prayer of the day, said after nightfall.

[24]Marie Elizabeth Brouillette. See Petit's Journal and notes to his Journal, *post,* pp. 120, 133. Mme. Brouillette had incurred the "impediment" by acting as godmother to her own daughter.

require her to leave this husband, who supports her and her children? She was his first wife, a Christian woman sent away by an unfaithful husband, not married by the Church. Can she marry another, and vice versa? What if both are unfaithful? I think yes, but be good enough to reply to me with just a word on all this, and I shall be very grateful to you. I like so much to lean upon the decision of a superior in such questions.

The Indians, Monseigneur, are preparing to leave for Washington to protest against the unworthy manner with which they are treated. The treaty[25] is indeed a thing as illegal as possible and in no wise applicable to our people, who have sold nothing. Menominee, the great chief, another savage, an interpreter, and a lawyer are preparing to leave. It seems to me that if the government has not decided to be completely unjust, they will be listened to. It is not at all a question of breaking the treaty but merely of whether the executive power will declare the treaty good and valid as far as it concerns those who have actually sold, but at the same time exercising its power as interpreter to say that the document could not be applied without an error of fact which would vitiate it. To those who have not sold, it is a question of interpreting and applying the treaty, not of breaking it.

I just found out, however, that, at the payment at which the savages were to receive the money necessary for their journey, the Catholics got nothing, or next to nothing. So I fear their voices cannot be heard at Washington—or perhaps they will obtain a justice which would save the most edifying of your congregations for your diocese. One's heart bleeds at so much injustice. Well, what shall I say to you? Monseigneur, I have asked the good Lord whether I ought to tell you: I think so. If the Indians cannot find a way to go themselves, could I not go myself, with a power of attorney from them? I think I am capable of doing it, although it is a trial to a sort of natural timidity and repugnance which I feel for this kind of thing. Mother informs me of money from France; I could make the trip at my own expense.

[25]Treaty of August 5, 1836. See *ante*, p. 23.

Would we abandon them without even a feeble attempt at protection? I have entrusted the affair to the Holy Virgin. I do not think there enters into this proposal I make to you any natural desire on my part to travel or tour. Ah, no; I feel rather a sort of natural defiance, and I think I should make this attempt. Your wisdom will weigh and decide: it will be the voice of God to me. The journey will take only a short time.

If I had more paper I should speak to you about my Protestants around the Indian mission. What would you say if I told you that a Protestant lady poured out torrents of tears while asking me to pray that her whole family might become Catholic? It is the edification of the Indians which causes this. Monseigneur, to conclude, pardon me again: I said Mass this morning for M. Schaeffer.[26] I lack paper and have only time enough to beg you to excuse irregularities of form in favor of deep respect and of complete and devout submission in Jesus Christ.

From your son,

B. Petit
Ptre. Mre.[27]

This morning I claimed letters addressed to M. Deseille, notably the one of which his sister spoke. I am going to write to Mlle. Deseille what I know of the details of this missionary's death. On second thought I shall not do it, for upon rereading the letter I see that I am not asked to do it.

I think I conformed with Monseigneur's wishes in giving six piasters[28] to Mlle. Campeau for her living. She asks me for an old coat, some old stockings, and some pocket handkerchiefs. I gave them to her. She is indeed, Monseigneur, one of your most edifying and useful missionaries, is this holy woman.

[26]Father Bernard Schaeffer came to America with Bishop Bruté in 1836 and went immediately to service in Chicago. He died there on October 2, 1837. See Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 121; Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, pp. 273, 277.

[27]Missionary Priest.

[28]"Piaster" is synonymous with "dollar."

I confirmed the gift of a pair of young steers promised by M. François[29] to a Frenchman[30] to whom M. Deseille had entrusted the animals and who at all times has rendered and is still ready to render the greatest services to the mission.

M. Mueller's[31] horse is worn out, and, what is worse, they told me the other day that he is eighteen or nineteen years old. What is certain is that when I was coming back from my sojourn among the Indians, a trip of twenty-seven or thirty miles, I had to stop for the night on the way. He could not go further. I know the road is terrible—mud, half a foot of ice, snow—but what of it? Mme. Coquillard[32] promises me another.

[Addressed:] To The Right Rd. Bishop Bruté Vincennes (Knox County) Indiana.

Petit to Bishop Bruté, December 9, 1837

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA[33]]

South Bend, 9 December, 1837.

Monseigneur:

Just this moment I received your honored letter of the 29th last. I had been waiting for it for several days in order to write to you, having to bring to your attention some of M. Deseille's final recommendations, made to a good Irishman who attended him during his last illness. He wanted 140 Masses said for the repose of his soul, and he informed you

[29]Priest at Logansport. See *ante,* p. 27.

[30]Perhaps M. Charron. See notes to Petit's Journal, *post,* p. 133. Charron was a farmer on the land on St. Mary's Lake owned by Bishop Bruté.

[31]Father Mueller was priest at Fort Wayne. See *ante,* p. 28. He came to South Bend following Father Deseille's death, and upon his departure took the Father's horse, leaving behind his own, which was sick. See Petit's Journal, *post,* p. 120.

[32]Frances (Comparet) Coquillard. In 1824, in Detroit, she married Alexis Coquillard, an agent of the American Fur Company, and came with him to his station at the present site of South Bend, then a wilderness. "Intelligent, charming, and well educated," she "was to the poor untutored Indians of that day a veritable Good Samaritan." Charles C. Chapman, *History of St. Joseph County, Indiana* (Chicago, 1880), pp. 503-4; Mary C. Coquillard, *Alexis Coquillard—His Time* (Northern Indiana Historical Society, South Bend, 1931), pp. 12-13, 14.

[33]The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

that he himself had paid the cost of 40 Masses, and he wished the 140 said in a year's time.

If M. Mueller saw a draft for $400 among M. Deseille's papers, I have found nothing of the kind, and I haven't heard the least word said about it. All I discovered was $140 in cash, which belongs to the savages of Chichipé Outipé. I shall give it to Menominee for his journey to Washington; he asked me for it again, and it belongs to them. In addition there is a counterfeit note for $5, and $4 in cash; I think that is all remaining after the debts were paid by M. François.

As to the savages, Monseigneur, I have never said a word to them tending in the least to influence them to disobey in case they should not obtain justice and should be forced to depart.[34] This would be contrary to their interest and my duty. Nor have I ever had the least idea of asking your permission to accompany them in their emigration, and I am, thanks to God, wholly prepared to leave them when you say to me: "Depart" (not, however, without some inner pangs, but that does not matter).

But this is what I have done, and I don't think I did wrong—you shall judge: I promised Menominee a memorial, in which I should briefly explain their case so that, when he is before the President, he may be sure to make him understand the facts with certainty. He is to deliver it as if it were his own, and my name will not appear. It is a simple, general, and logical exposé of the facts, tending to prove that they did not sign, or that they signed without knowing what they were doing, or that some of the signatures appearing on the treaty are of people not properly settled on the reserve. The whole is based simply on the general facts, without direct or personal accusations against anyone. It is true that agents in general are somewhat blackened by it, but is it necessary to sacrifice the innocent to the guilty by keeping silent?

[34]In a letter dated November 29, Bishop Bruté wrote to Petit: "These people will not be successful in having the law repealed. Whatever may have been its origin—however faulty or dishonest even—if the fault lay in the documents upon which the law was based then above all, we should, as Father Deseille said, refrain from meddling in what is not in the line of our duties." Quoted in Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur,* p. 334.

The reason I promised this to him is that they have so often been deceived by lawyers and interpreters, and they have so often been made to say what they do not mean, that I am very glad to assure them a certain communication of their protests.

This is absolutely the only interpretation I make of it: It is not at all a question of repealing a law: a treaty is not a law, for it has in no wise received any legislative sanction at all, having been approved only by the Senate and ratified by the President. It is not a question of repealing it but of executing it in its true sense. The executive power is always joined to the interpretive power, and the President, who is bound to execute the treaty, necessarily has the power to say it applies to those to whom it does not. In the Senate's intention, however, the ratification applies to a completed sale. So from the moment the executive power declares unquestionably that the sale was not actually agreed upon, as is the case, it would follow that by his interpretive power he ought to say the treaty applies to those who have really sold, but it could apply only by an error of fact contrary to the intention of the ratification itself. Thus, you see, it is only a question of asking the competent executive power in the case at issue to declare the proper application of the treaty by a natural and well-founded interpretation.

Such is the spirit in which the memorial in question is addressed to the President. I think it may be useful to the Indians, but speak but a word to me, and I shall keep it to myself in all submission, telling Menominee that you do not think it can do them any good. As to this manner of bringing the question to the President's attention, I communicated my opinion to the lawyer. I do not think I was wrong in all this, but judge me, Monseigneur, and I shall submit very quickly, very quickly.

If, however, the Indians depart before I have learned your decision regarding this and ask me for the promised letter, I shall give it to them, for it is merely as if they were asking me to write a letter for them because they do not know how to write, and this is a service which can hardly with charity be refused them. All things considered, however, I should refuse

it to them until I got your permission. But in case of refusal I shall ask your authority to communicate what I have done to someone who can do as much for them in my place or adopt my memorial in his name.

I am ashamed of myself, Monseigneur, and I fear you find me still too much a lawyer. I should perhaps have cast that spirit far from me, and yet it was at a time when the weak oppressed had no sure defense against the oppressor other than the priest's voice. Could you give them a letter of recommendation to J. Ewing of Vincennes?—he is in the Senate.[35] Enclose it in your reply to this.

I had the happiness of baptizing Mme. Laurent Bertrand:[36] I heard her confession, baptized her under condition,[37] had her renew her confession generally, and gave her absolution. . . .

This week I went several miles to see a woman who had left the Catholics to join the Dunkers. She promised me she would return, and I expect her tomorrow at confession.[38] She has been in this commendable state of mind since before M. Deseille's death; she is the wife of a good Irishman who came and told me his sorrow and implored me to go speak with his wife. I hope God's grace will settle this yet.

In answer to your questions: *First,* I have completely worn out M. Mueller's horse; he is in such a state as to make the crows cry with envy. The idea of a journey with this poor old creature (who, I imagine, still means well) is hopeless. Perhaps he will recover; one still occasionally sees that he was a good horse.

Second: I went yesterday to lay out, at the further extremity of the land,[39] a site where a new farmer will build a

[35]John Ewing was a member of the United States House of Representatives, not the Senate, 1833-35, 1837-39. *Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress 1774-1927* (1928), p. 954.

[36]Wife of Laurent Bertrand, son of Joseph Bertrand, Sr. See *post,* p. 50n. On November 2, Bertrand had informed Petit that his wife was ready to become a Catholic; on November 28, she was converted. See Petit's Journal, *post,* p. 122.

[37]A procedure resorted to when there is some doubt whether or not an individual has been validly baptized.

[38]She came to confession. See Petit's Journal, *post,* p. 122.

[39]Probably the land deeded by Father Badin to Bishop Bruté. See *ante,* p. 15 and note.

second farmhouse and cultivate the soil. He is to use it for three years to reimburse himself and then pay a third of the land's produce, and all the improvements will belong to you. The wood he will have to sell above what is necessary for the fences and buildings and his own use will be sold by halves. I allowed him to carry off and chop up the felled or broken wood which was rotting on the ground in consideration of fifteen cents a cord. M. de la Hailandière will say this is too cheap, but it is the price one gets for such wood here, and, if I do not sell it at this price, it will be a complete loss next year. Before long I shall arrange for a farm with Charron himself as well as I can to your advantage.

Third: the savages have repeated to me also that they were willing to give a section to the Church, but it is the section on which the church is located at the Yellow River, and the first question is whether the reserve still belongs to them; if not, the Church can take nothing from them.

Fourth: M. Deseille's residence at the Yellow River is very beautiful and good,[40] and I do not doubt you can have a right of pre-emption over this quarter section as the heir of M. Deseille, the first settler, but it would not be necessary to give up the place or buy it.

Fifth: I shall be able to inquire for an Indian, but I do not think I can find one of the kind which would be necessary—but perhaps—I shall see. I heard that some of them intended to ask you if they could settle at the lake, on a little corner of your land, if they are driven off the "duck's head." They could indeed cultivate your land if a priest is established at the lake; that might be advantageous both for you and for them; it should be looked into later.

Sixth: I shall see whether I can find some religious articles suitable to please a Clarisse.[41]

Seventh: I found two chalices, a large one and a small one, for a mission; the foot of the latter is broken. The books are in good condition, and some are precious—a magnificent Bil-

[40]Petit had taken up residence, apparently with no opposition, in the house on the Yellow River reserve from which Sands had expelled Father Deseille and Angelique Campeau. See *ante*, pp. 24-25.

[41]A nun of the Order of St. Clare.

luart[42]—church and personal linen, handkerchiefs, tools, all sorts of things.

M. Coquillard[43] himself is soon going to Fort Wayne; I shall entrust the note concerning M. Comparet[44] to him.

I recommend myself to the prayers of your candidates for ordination at Christmas; we shall pray for them at Chichipé Outipé as soon as I return there, but that will not be before the ordination. I shall go there the day after Christmas.

Yes, Monseigneur, I shall accept without shame whenever donations are given me, but they do not happen often. I am still very rich anyway, and I have the dollars you intended for M. Mueller in the bottom of my pocket. Is it a wrong use to keep them for a horse in case his should completely fail? *There* is a real carcass.

I shall write to M. Badin.[45]

Monseigneur, if you find in me too much ardor for the savages, you will excuse me, will you not? For though I have known them only a short time, there is an inconceivable tenderness for them in the bottom of my heart which the good Lord will bless, I hope. Might it not turn out that this will give me the happiness of offering to Him the pain I shall feel in leaving them, if you wish it so?

[42]One of the theological works of Charles René Billuart, 1685-1757. *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* II (1907), 567.

[43]Alexis Coquillard won a reputation as an Indian trader and was appointed agent for the American Fur Company, in partnership with Francis Comparet. He came to South Bend in 1824 and has been described as the "pioneer introducer of civilized customs among the Indians in northern Indiana." Coquillard, *Alexis Coquillard;* Chapman, *History of St. Joseph County,* p. 464.

[44]Francis Comparet came to Fort Wayne in 1820. Bert J. Griswold, *The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, Indiana* (Chicago, 1917), p. 247; Coquillard, *Alexis Coquillard,* pp. 8-13.

[45]Francis Vincent Badin, vicar-general of the diocese of Detroit. The diocese of Vincennes extended only to the Indiana-Michigan border. The region north of this was under the jurisdiction of Bishop Rezé of Detroit, to whom, through his vicar-general, Petit was responsible for his ministrations at Bertrand and other points in Michigan. Alerding, *History of the Catholic Church,* pp. 121-22, 124. Petit had written to Detroit on November 27, and wrote again on December 28. He received the same powers which Father Deseille had had. *Post,* pp. 56, 121, 123.

I shall say midnight Mass in the church at Bertrand.[46] It is not entirely finished, but well closed up and, I think, just about as suitable as your respected cathedral, although it is not consecrated. I think I can say the first Mass there just as well as in Mme. Coquillard's parlor. Last Sunday I had twelve children at catechism, afterwards the breviary, and finally our dinner.

Monseigneur, I may be mistaken, and I often am mistaken through ignorance, but I hope the good Lord will pardon me, for he reads at the bottom of my heart a great desire to do well for His glory. And thanks a thousand times to you; you will pardon me, too, for I know your fatherly indulgence for your respectfully devoted son and priest,

B. Petit
Ptre. Mre.

My friendly respects to M. de la Hailandière: thanks a thousand times for his good letters, and Shaw, Vabret, Berel, and Paret,[47] for keeping the little cloak and giving me the pleasure of accepting it from me.

We need here the number of your section, which we do not have in the contract for the tax payments.

I think it is proper that I go and settle at the lake:[48] first, it will please many people; second, I think I am an embarrassment here, though they urge me to stay and they are a thousand times too good; and finally it is more fitting that I be

[46]Bertrand, Michigan, was a village on the St. Joseph River, not far from the Indiana border. See "History of the Extinct Village of Bertrand," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, *Collections,* XXVIII (1900), 128-33.

[47]These four were members of the party which Bruté brought to America in 1836. Michael Edward Shaw (Shawe) was made a deacon December 18, 1836, and was ordained March 12, 1837—the first priest to be ordained in St. Francis Xavier Cathedral at Vincennes. He became the first resident pastor at Madison on July 18, 1836. Father John A. Vabret conducted the Catholic College at Vincennes. Maurice Berel was ordained a priest at Vincennes on December 23, 1837, and continued as an instructor in the school there. Anthony Paret (Parret), ordained a subdeacon December 18, 1836, a deacon December 23, 1837, and a priest August 15, 1838, remained in the Vincennes District. Alerding, *History of The Catholic Church,* p. 226; Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur,* index; Vincennes *Western Sun and General Advertiser,* September 2, 1837, p. 3, c. 4, and following issues.

[48]St. Mary's Lake.

where M. Deseille was. Please tell me in your next letter that you desire me to go there, in order to remove all difficulty in case I should leave my present dwelling. I am thinking of leaving one of these days, but I am somewhat embarrassed: a Westphalian Catholic is going to Europe and wishes to return here, he says, in August next year with about forty Catholic families to found a second town on the Coquillard land on the other side of the river, but he wants a church.

May I presume to send by you, Monseigneur, my respectful greetings to Messieurs Ellis, Law, Stahl, Trouts, and the Moore and Doran families? You will permit me, Monseigneur, to ask for a reply from you or M. de la Hailandière as soon as you can without inconveniencing yourself.

I knew, of course, that I must always have someone present when I say Holy Mass.

Sunday evening. The good Lord spoils me: I had to reconcile the poor Dunker, of whom I believe I spoke above, to the Church today. Then I had a conversation with a Protestant woman[49] desiring to become a Catholic; she is a believer and appears educated; I do not think it will take long. She came to Mass today in spite of the extreme cold and the icy roads. Some ladies even came from as far as Bertrand—seven miles—a full audience. They tell me of other Protestants: it would be a pity, Monseigneur, to abandon this post. If I am not to remain here, try to send another here.

[Addressed:] To the Right Rd. Bishop Bruté Vincennes, Knox Cty. Indiana

Petit to Bishop Bruté, December 26, 1837

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA[50]]

South Bend, 26 December, 1837.

Monseigneur,

If after all the kindness you have shown me so often I could still have doubted that I had found a father's tenderness in you, your letter of December 5, followed at a two-day interval by another, would have sufficed to prove to me the paternal

[49]A Mme. Clarke. See Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 122.

[50]The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

solicitude for the elder sons of your numerous family which fills your heart.[51]

I am surprised, Monseigneur, at my health: one evening at sunset I left Bertrand in snow which was falling heavily to go twenty-four miles to administer to a sick woman at Pokagon's.[52] I traveled all night through the forest; there were, in the sleigh, M. Benjamin Bertrand[53] and I. We upset nine times on the way—superb!—we laughed like kings. We finally arrived at 2 A. M. I had left Bertrand without eating. The day before was a fast day, and, as I wanted to say the first Mass, I didn't take anything. I went to bed on an Indian mat, and after a few hours there I was, as fresh and fit as you can possibly imagine. Mass, sermons to the Indians, confessions all day long, and the next day extreme unction, communion for the sick woman, five other communions—and then we left. Going back we upset only twice. I remember the time when Benjamin would have coughed, grown pale, etc., but he was not a missionary then: that makes quite a difference.

Now to tell you of *my* Christmas: Pokagon's savages arrived at Bertrand for the festival Friday morning, to the number of sixty or seventy. I went there myself and heard confessions until sunset Saturday. They brought me back by sleigh to South Bend, where on Sunday morning after High Mass I had the happiness of baptizing Mme. Clark. I left for Bertrand immediately, and in the afternoon performed seven baptisms, three of which were of Indian adults; then confessions until eleven o'clock, midnight Mass, sermons in French and English, and about fifty communions; the next morning at the lake confessions until High Mass, English and French sermons, and ten or fifteen communions. I shall confess that after these two High Masses, six sermons, and confessions

[51]Bruté's solicitude for Petit induced him to request Father François, of Logansport, in a letter of December 24, 1837, to "have an eye on" the young man, "so zealous and little accustomed to the climate." University of Notre Dame Archives.

[52]The village of Chief Leopold Pokagon. See *ante*, p. 14n.

[53]Half-breed son of Joseph Bertrand, Sr. "History of . . . Bertrand," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, *Collections*, XXVIII, 130. See *post*, p. 50n.

during these days, I felt very tired, and in the afternoon I fell asleep in an armchair by the fireplace.

I have nothing but the highest praise for the kindness of the Bertrand family, M. and Mme. Coquillard, and M. and Mme. Charron, whether it was to drive anywhere (for when I do not go by sleigh and when I do not want to abuse their kindness, I have to go on foot, my horse being entirely unserviceable; I do this only for very short trips), or whether to do anything to please me in connection with decorating the altars, etc. I should not, however, like to defer any longer, if I am to remain here, having a good horse; I regard this as necessary equipment; a missionary should not have to depend upon the kindness of others to go anywhere his ministry calls him. However great the kindness may be, it can become exhausted at long last. But I am leaving for Chichipé Outipé tomorrow; I am going to conduct a mission for the savages, and from there I shall pass through Vincennes on my way to Washington.[54] During my absence M. Mueller's horse will either get well, and then I shall sell him, or die completely. Mme. Coquillard still promises me one which a gentleman owes her as a token of a big sale of lands made by her husband; if she gets it, I shall have it.

I hope to see you soon. I have many things to tell you, and it is a joy to my heart to think of being with you again. Yet I am leaving some children, a family I love much; my heart is always torn and divided and will not be happy anywhere. These ties which the ministry forms are sweet and strong, like all the manifestations of the love of God, whom we serve.

I was so tired at Christmas time that I felt no devotion. I do not know how the savages' journey will take place; I think they are having trouble finding the necessary money. In any event I shall be ready to follow your directions, either going alone with their power of attorney, which they will send me in case they should not be able to come themselves, or both they and I leaving separately to act simultaneously. *Omnia ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam.*

[54]This journey was never made, for Bruté apparently overruled the plan the next month. *Post,* p. 124.

I have just seen M. Joseph Bertrand, who has just come from the Mississippi, where he conducted a troop of Indians.[55] As soon as they arrived there, they were visited by Protestant ministers who offered them their services. "We didn't send for you," said Caldwell,[56] the great chief of the Potawatomi. "When we need you we shall let you know." But a French priest was there, and they already have a church at Council Bluffs. Who is this priest?[57] Will it be bad or good fortune for these poor simple Christians? You could find out, Monseigneur, from the Bishop of St. Louis, in whose diocese the place mentioned above is situated.

[55]Joseph Bertrand established a trading post on the west side of the St. Joseph River in 1808, later moving across the river to the site now known as Bertrand. He married Mona, baptized Madeline, daughter of Chief Topenebee, by whom he had several children. Bertrand probably served as an assistant in the emigration of about 450 Potawatomi, including the band of Topenebee, in July, 1837. This party, under the direction of Lewis H. Sands and Moses H. Scott, went to Chicago, where it divided. One hundred and sixty, under Scott, went to the Osage River in Kansas and 287, under Sands, to Council Bluffs. Bertrand joined his family on the Potawatomi reservation in Kansas in 1853. "History of . . . Bertrand," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, *Collections,* XVIII, 128-33; Otho Winger, *The Potawatomi Indians* (Elgin, Illinois, 1939), pp. 115-19; Moses H. Scott to Lewis H. Sands, November 18, 1837, and Lewis H. Sands to Carey A. Harris, November 18, 1837, Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letters Received, Chicago; Daniel McDonald, *History of Lake Maxinkuckee* (Indianapolis, 1905), p. 19.

[56]Sauganash (the Englishman) or Billy Caldwell was a half-breed, son of an Irish officer and a Potawatomi woman. He was educated in the Jesuit schools in Detroit and became an outstanding member of his tribe. In 1835 he left his home in Chicago to emigrate to Iowa; he died on the reserve near Council Bluffs in 1841. Winger, *The Potawatomi Indians,* pp. 108-10; Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians,* II, 408.

[57]In 1837 there was no mission at Council Bluffs. The first Indian mission west of the Mississippi—perhaps the "church" that Petit mentions—was established among the Kickapoo near Fort Leavenworth, in 1836, by Father Charles Van Quickenborne, aided by Brothers Andrew Mazella and Edmund Barry. Father Christian Hoecken became the first teacher in the school there. On September 13, 1837, the Potawatomi of Council Bluffs, under the direction of the Superior of the Missouri Mission, Father Verhaegen, petitioned the Secretary of War for a school to be conducted by the Catholic Missionary Society of Missouri. The petition was signed by several Potawatomi, including Caldwell. In May, 1838, a mission was established under the direction of Father Peter de Smet and Father Felix Verreydt.

I think, Monseigneur, that toward the end of January I shall have the happiness to ask for your benediction and to offer you my respects in person.

You know, doubtless, that M. Mueller has been very ill again.

I have not yet received an answer from M. Badin in Detroit, and apparently I shall leave before getting one.

As for your fears that I am suffering hardship, I do not at all. I have spent very little and am still rich enough to return home amply provided with the money you personally gave me. I need absolutely nothing. I am little sensitive to the cold and in good health, although a little tired these days.

I beg you, Monseigneur, to accept the respectful expression of sentiments of devotion and submission with which I am,

Your Reverence's very humble and very obedient servant, priest, and son in Jesus Christ,

B. Petit
Ptre. Mre.

My respects to all those gentlemen and particularly to M. de la Hailandière, Shaw, Vabret, Berel, Paret—particularly—I have named everybody; this is certainly a large particularization!

[Addressed:] To the Right Rd. Bishop Bruté Vincennes (Knox Cty.) Indiana

Petit to His Family, January 5 (?), 1838[58]

[Translated from *Annales,* XI (1838-39), No. lxv, 387-89]

Here I am at Chichipé Outipé, in the bosom of my Indian church. How I love my children and what a good time I have among them! The mission is laborious, but what consolations! I shall not repeat it—it is always the same miracle—an incredible succession of conversions among these poor infidels. There

It lasted until 1841. John Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis* (2 volumes. St. Louis, 1928), I, 641-45, 653-54, 660, 663; John F. Kempker, "Catholic Missionaries in the Early and in the Territorial Days of Iowa," *Annals of Iowa,* X (1911), 61.

[58]According to his Journal Petit wrote only one letter between December 28 and January 27, "a letter to France" on January 5. See *post,* p. 124.

are now a thousand to twelve hundred Christians, and what a fervor, what a wonderful and touching simplicity!

It was the last day of the year 1837. I was sleeping on my mat when, toward midnight, I was awakened with a start by a discharge of musketry. One does not take long to arise when one sleeps clothed on mats: I ran to my door, which was being shaken, and opened it. In a moment my room was filled with a crowd of Indians—men, women, children—who had come to wish me Happy New Year. They knelt around me, and I blessed them. Then, all smiles, they pressed my hand. It was truly a family celebration. I made them a brief speech on the past year and the one which had just begun, and I led them all to the chapel, where we said a short prayer. Then they asked my permission to do the same honors to the chiefs, and I granted it without reluctance, as you may well imagine.

Ah, I love them tenderly! If you saw, when I enter a cabin, the little children who surround me and climb on my knees, the father and mother and elder children who gather together, piously make the sign of the cross, and then with a trusting smile come to press my hand—you could not help loving them as I do. When one visits them at their cabins in the evening, one finds them with their heads bent over the fire, singing hymns or reciting the catechism by the light of their brazier. Their zeal is surprising: at this moment I have Christians of three weeks' standing who have learned prayers, catechism, and hymns in a space of time inconceivably short. I am beginning to speak their language a little—to appreciate something of what they say to me. If I had to give you all the details which might interest you, I should never finish. I am truly too happy. Do not wish anything better for me but that God protect us! This mission is menaced by approaching destruction—the government wants to transport the Indians to the other side of the Mississippi. I live between fear and hope, but I entrust my hope and fear to the hands of the Lord!

Petit to De la Hailandière, February 11, 1838

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA[59]]

South Bend, 11 February, 1838.

Monsieur and Very Reverend Friend:

First to business:[60] an Indian woman had nine children; her husband died; the woman's brother-in-law, according to the custom of these people, married his dead brother's wife in order to support the family; this was a duty for them. He already had another wife, who, shocked by this, became angry with her husband and left him. She finally became a Christian. Today this is the situation: the first wife, not wishing to return to her unfaithful husband, offers no difficulty: she is not bound to him, he is unfaithful, she is a Christian, both wish to leave each other, and he does not wish to leave his second wife (his sister-in-law)—*si discedit infidelis, discedat.*[61] The difficulty is this: he wishes to become a Christian, and his present wife, his brother's widow, does also, but the latter says she cannot leave him on account of her numerous family, whom he is supporting. They have been living as husband and wife for four years. She has had one more child by him and still has five from the first marriage too young to do without paternal aid, which they receive from their uncle and stepfather. Monseigneur, wouldn't there be a means of dispensation for the marriage between brother-in-law and sister-in-law for such weighty reasons? It seems possible to me. The situation demands it; they married in the belief that they were fulfilling a duty. The second wife cannot leave her husband without compromising her numerous family, her husband wishes to keep her, and his first wife declared to me that, even if he sends away the second, she will have nothing to do with him. They have completely separated, and I have declared to the woman that she could marry another. In short, and per-

[59]The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

[60]De la Hailandière was vicar-general of the diocese of Vincennes at this time and could advise Petit in ecclesiastical matters in Bruté's absence. The Bishop had left Vincennes late in December, going south for his health and visiting in St. Louis, New Orleans, and Mobile. He returned to Vincennes on April 2, 1838. Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur,* pp. 335-44.

[61]"If the unbelieving depart, let him depart." I Corinthians, 7:15.

haps more clearly, if Monseigneur can dispense a marriage between brother-in-law and sister-in-law, I am asking for such a dispensation in the case in question. It is a question of a previously contracted marriage, according to a nation's custom; the interests of a numerous family demand it. For M. Deseille the difficulty was quite different, the man then having two wives; today he has put one of them aside and holds to his sister-in-law. I am repeating myself and becoming a dotard: if there is any way to do it, arrange the dispensation. M. Deseille, it appears, had promised baptism in the present situation, in which this man put aside his first wife and was faithful to his second. It seems to me, also, that I vaguely recall that he consulted the above-mentioned Monseigneur in my presence. Such dispensations are granted to the Ottawa of Michigan for pre-existing marriages.[62] Try to understand me and if possible grant the dispensation which will render them both good Christians.

It is not necessary for the validity of a baptism that the water touch three times, is it? A child moved during a baptism, and I am afraid I did not moisten it three times, although certain of moistening him at least one good time while pronouncing the words. I think that suffices, but one cannot be too sure for so necessary a sacrament, and, although the books may tell me, I want to be more certain. I am very stupid, am I not?

In regard to the taxes, Monseigneur owes 40 piasters for his last year's tax because of delinquency; it would have been, if paid on time, only 15 piasters. Coquillard had paid before a witness but without getting a receipt. He could recover only his 15 piasters, and the collector, who can do nothing more

[62]Probably at Arbre Croche (Crooked Tree), near Harbor Springs, Michigan. The Jesuits had a mission there which they visited occasionally from Michilimackinac between 1741 and 1765. Father Dejean visited there in 1824 and Father Vincent Badin in 1825. In May, 1831, Father Frederic Baraga arrived, and in a little over two years baptized 461 Indians. He was succeeded by Father Saenderl (Sänderl) in 1833. Chrysostom Verwyst, "Life and Labors of Bishop Baraga," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, *Collections,* XXVI (1896), 534-37; *Annales,* VIII (1835-36), No. XLIII, 293-96; John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (2 volumes. New York, 1890-92), I, 342, 343, 347, 354, 614.

about it today since the receipt for the delinquents is in the hands of another, is a poor man and implored them not to act with severity towards him, recognizing that he could be made to pay the 40 piasters.[63]

Monseigneur tells me of another half section of M. Badin's; he wants me to inquire about the taxes; they amount to 80 dollars today, and if they aren't paid it will be sold next year for taxes. Send me some money, therefore—as many Indiana notes as possible, as they do not accept anything else here at the tax office.

I have had to buy a horse for 70 piasters, 60 in cash and 10 on credit. I have only 7 dollars left—not that I have spent everything, but I lent 200 dollars to the chiefs departing for Washington. If you can send me the money for the Masses[64] you commissioned me to say, it would please me. In my next letter I shall report all my expenses, dollar for dollar, to you, for I keep an exact account of my time and all my business.

It is as difficult to procure Indiana notes here as money itself.

While I was with my Indians, Charron, the farmer at the lake, sold my poor horse (M. Mueller's) for 18 dollars. The American who bought him, after working him a few days, brought him back, asking for a refund. Charron was unwilling to give it and kept the American's note. The expenses of the lawsuit, which lasted several days, amounted to 30 dollars, and they have been charged to the American. Meanwhile the horse, broken-hearted, probably, at being the cause of so much trouble, died of grief. I am glad of it and for having been absent the whole time.

Here is a fact which probably will interest you: Sinagorra,[65] Chichipé's first catechist—a man remarkable for his

[63]The meaning of this paragraph is, apparently, that the tax collector gave the receipt to the wrong person, thus rendering Coquillard's payment in behalf of Bruté invalid and making the collector liable for the amount plus the penalty for delay.

[64]Petit had said ten Masses ordered by De la Hailandière for Father Deseille and Father Schaeffer. See Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 122.

[65]Perhaps this is William Sinagau, a resident of Menominee's Reserve, who later became head chief of a band of Potawatomi at Rush Lake, Michigan. Buechner, *The Pokagons*, pp. 314, 317.

wit, eloquence, deep faith, devotion to the good works of the mission among his brethren—was very ill in his hunting camp at Christmas time last year. He could not walk, being incapacitated by pain, and he looked on with despair as all his neighbors left for the chapel to celebrate the festival there. He was consumed with the desire to be among them, and gloom settled upon him. Then he made up his mind to go at any price. He had himself put on a horse and left for the village suffering so much that he wept. After a long, painful journey he arrived, unable to walk; bent double, he dragged himself with great difficulty on a cane to the chapel. He joined in the prayer with his usual fervor, and then, after the prayer, he arose, completely cured of his pains and walking without a cane, and returned on foot. The whole village witnessed this. It is wonderful to hear this Indian speak: his features light up with such fire; his speech, his gesture, his face are so expressive; he is so beloved by all the Christians and surrounded by such universal confidence. His spirit, his discourse, and his heart, entirely dedicated to the service of God, make him a missionary so appropriate to his position that you could not help loving him. With all that he has the naïve and humble simplicity of a very small child; he is in my eyes a holy and truly lovable man.

How little savage they are at heart, these Indians, whom the Americans, with their hearts dry as cork and their whole thought "land and money," fail to appreciate and treat with so much disdain and injustice.

Conforming to Monseigneur's wish, I have had myself authorized by M. Badin of Detroit: I now have the same powers M. Deseille himself had.[66]

Please reply to me by return mail addressed to Plymouth, Marshall County, where I shall get your letter at the end of this month on my way to Chichipé Outipé, where I am to be for Ash Wednesday. I am, awaiting the honor of your reply, M. Vicar-General,

Your entirely devoted and submissive servant,

B. Petit
Ptre. Mre.

[66]See *ante*, p. 45.

Yesterday I covered twenty-five miles[67] on horseback through severe cold. It is strange how little I suffer from the cold, or rather I do not suffer at all from it: I was forced to remove my mittens because I was too warm. My health is still excellent, though my eyes are tired by the snow, which has not left us for nearly two months. They are tired, but not more than others'.

In regard to the money I am asking you for, I shall tell you that my boots are full of holes, and I should be glad to buy a pair of them, or even shoes, but that does not mean that I am suffering at all from the cold: I am like a prince. I have so well got the habit of sleeping on a mat wrapped in blankets that I have one uninterrupted sleep that way from evening to morning, and today I was completely out of my element in the feather bed at M. Coquillard's house. One does not refresh one's self so well that way; it won't do.

I had about ten newly arrived German Catholics here at Mass this morning. I had to improvise in English. How are the gentlemen of the College and the Seminary?[68] Is the institution prospering? My respects to all.

Mother tells me she sent a parcel; if you should receive it, I should like you to have a pair of riding breeches and leggings forwarded to me, if you could, addressing them to M. François by steamboat.

[67]This is the distance from Menominee's Reserve near Plymouth to South Bend.

[68]Before the see of Vincennes was created in 1834, there was a school there, taught by four Sisters of Charity from Nazareth, Kentucky. The sisters were withdrawn temporarily, but returned in 1835. In 1838, the Superiors at Nazareth recalled two of the four sisters. The other two remained until 1838, when two sisters from Mt. St. Mary's near Emmitsburg, Maryland, replaced them. They were more experienced, and able to carry out Bruté's plans for a boarding school, day school, and a separate free school. Aided by funds which he collected on his trip to France and Italy in 1836, Bruté set up the Catholic College of Vincennes in the fall of 1837; in the fall of 1838 St. Mary's Academy and Free School was opened. Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur,* pp. 229, 236-37, 320, 341-43; Alerding, *History of the Catholic Church,* p. 149; Bayley, *Memoirs,* pp. 93-94, 96; advertisements in Vincennes *Western Sun and General Advertiser,* September 2, 1837, p. 3, c. 4, August 18, 1838, p. 3, c. 5, and following issues.

I shall send you immediately, in a box, my little Indian family leaving for France.[69]

How is Monseigneur?

Have you any news from France?

[Addressed:] To the Very Revd. C. de la Hailandière Pastor of the Catholic congregation Vincennes, Knox Cty. Indiana.

Petit to De la Hailandière, March 25, 1838

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA[70]]

South Bend, 25 March, 1838.

M. the Vicar-General (and dear friend),

First, I could not and cannot help laughing upon reading the salutation of your letter to Benjamin: "Monsieur and dear colleague." It is so serious, so dignified, so official, so canonical that, not knowing how to answer, I wrote in all dignity "M. the Vicar-General," subordinating in parentheses an apostrophe which you deign to allow me and which your pen ordinarily calls me when it has no distractions. . . .[71]

To be serious: I received the 150 piasters safe and sound, and it is with a painful feeling that I have to render you an account of the tax affair which will surprise you. The lake farm[72] had not paid its taxes of 1836 and 1837; here is a detailed account of the affair:

Taxes for 1836, due December 1, 1836	$20.251
Fine for delay in payment, 50%	10.126
Increase which runs day by day, 100% a year, dating from December 1, 1836, which makes a delinquency of 1 year, 3 months, and 22 days	26.68

[69]Perhaps a picture.

[70]The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

[71]This is not an ellipsis. Petit apparently used this means to indicate a change of tone in his letter.

[72]Petit refers to the land on Lake St. Mary's which Father Badin purchased and deeded to Bruté.

This is the enormous amount I have had
to pay $83.05[73]

You told me to look into it closely; I have been able to do nothing in that regard but to figure it out myself on the basis that I am communicating to you according to the instructions I received. This is what I think of what has happened: M. Coquillard was negligent in notifying me. The collector told me this morning that Coquillard had come to make payment too late, and he probably did not want to pay the penalty and the increase; so he left the matter there. It has increased day by day since then. He had committed himself to pay only the current taxes and not the penalty and the increase, but he ought to have notified us sooner. When he made this benevolent promise, during the Bishop's visit,[74] the penalty and increase for 1836 had already been incurred.

I do not yet know the section number of M. Badin's farm, and consequently I do not know what there is of it. I shall attend to it.

I expressed myself badly if you understood that the woman whom I assured was free was leaving in spite of his wishes the man who had been her husband ever since she had become a Christian. He is willing to keep her if he can have two wives—his situation for several years—but, as I told him in order to become a Christian he must have only one, he is leaving the former and keeping the other—his sister-in-law, the mother of that numerous family for whom I asked dispensation—for his legitimate wife. As for the dispensation, I am not of your opinion (I am ashamed to say so, as if I am entitled to an opinion in theology) in regard to the *necessity*. Many authors interpret it as a moral necessity, which I believe I see in the interests of a numerous family. Remember it is very difficult to find a man willing to take the maintenance of a family like that upon himself; I believe there are five

[73]See the Journal, *post*, pp. 125, 133-34. In his letter Petit omitted the 1837 tax, amounting to $26.00, which would bring the total to $83.05. There was also a town clerk's fee of 25 cents which brought the total Petit paid to $83.30 or $83.31.

[74]Bishop Bruté visited South Bend in June, 1837. Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, p. 311.

children, still minors or very young, out of a family of ten; add to this their complete good faith and the idea of fulfillment of a duty, which united them. Finally the three letters in which I spoke to you of the situation will give Monseigneur, I think, an exact idea of the case. We shall see his opinion; I am waiting.

I feel in error about Lent: not knowing what prescriptions to have, I have followed last year's: fast every day, meatless Wednesday and Friday each week and all the Holy Week. I find myself agreeing with M. François in this: on meat days one single meal. I have even given dispensation to the savages in regard to eating meat during Holy Week, except Wednesday and Friday. On meatless days they eat only corn, on Sunday meat at every meal. I should have conformed to your ideas if I had received them sooner, but, when they came, we were in the midst of Lent, and I have given instructions which I was unwilling to alter because I could not do it effectively and it would have caused disturbance and confusion among my children—some doing one thing, some another.

As for this marriage which the wife of the man who disappeared three years ago would like to contract: although he is probably dead, I do not regard that as certain enough to permit his hypothetical widow to contract a second marriage. I told them my opinion, but I promised to obtain that of the diocese.

I do not know how to send you my little savages, my letters, and my moccasins; the roads are so bad the stages do not run any more.

I do not know definitely whether my mission is going to be destroyed; there is not much to hope for and much to fear. In Washington people are trying to frighten them and prevent them from seeing the President.[75] I believe, however, that they

[75]A delegation of Potawatomi chiefs was in Washington by March 3, under the care of J. T. Douglass. They returned late in the month, arriving at Cincinnati on March 26. There is no record of their interview with President Van Buren other than Menominee's statement "that when at Washington last winter he heard the President say, that no white men had any right to come upon their land until they had ceded it to the Government." J. T. Douglass to Carey A. Harris, February 4, March 13 and 26, 1838, Indian Office, Letters Received, Indiana and Miscellaneous; Abel C. Pepper to Harris, May 5, 1838, Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi.

have seen him, introduced by a friend of Monseigneur's for whom I endorsed, for the benefit of the chiefs, a recommendation which Monseigneur had personally given me. We shall soon know the result. I have put them under the Holy Virgin's protection on the day of the presentation, and I intend, if they remain, to give the name of Notre Dame of the Presentation to the mission. *Fiat voluntas tua.*[76] That is all I can say, although I deeply desire that such a cup pass far from me, if possible. I accept the bitterness of it, however, and every day I offer it to God for them and for me.

I had the pleasure of seeing M. François among the Indians; he was charmed with the few he saw. After the confessions at the beginning of Lent nearly all of them departed for their sugar works, which they will leave only in time for Easter. My heart is proudly Indian, and they themselves love me well, too. It is strange how God disposes all things through His providence: on this trip I gave advice to the sick, grandmother's advice; I prescribed bread-crumb poultices, applications of soap and sugar, and I am a great doctor among them. I took Father François to see them in their rush huts, and he was very much surprised to hear me chat with them without an interpreter, as well as sing Indian hymns during his Mass. I am astonished myself sometimes. I have a father's yearning for them, and I feel oppressed by a profound anguish whenever I think of seeing them forced to depart, perhaps without a priest: a thousand Christians deprived of those sacraments and that word of God which they love so much, in a country where false ministers are already preparing their batteries under the guise of religion to take possession of the money the Indians will receive for many years yet.

My health has been spared colds this winter; I have a slight temperature, but I am taking pills and it is improving. The worst of my situation is that, having one day come very fast from Chichipé to South Bend in very severe cold without underdrawers, I received saddle sores. Forced to return without getting well, I bruised my haunches. As a result of this I was obliged to hear confessions standing eight days in succes-

[76]Thy will be done.

sion, without ever sitting down with any comfort. Thank the Lord this is better now, and this journey did not injure me too much.[77]

The day after tomorrow I depart for Turkey Creek Prairie, forty miles in the general direction of Fort Wayne; I am to conduct a funeral service there and give a little explanation of our holy faith. I hope my posterior parts will not suffer too much from it.

M. Coquillard, who has just arrived from Fort Wayne, told me that they want me there very much. There are those who complain of M. Mueller, and they would like to tell me about it. I feel no need or desire to interfere. M. Mueller, I trust, with God's aid, will triumph over this dissatisfaction by his firmness and his conduct; may God help him! I myself am too young to interfere in this; I can, however, write him what I think. Should I?

As to France, let them marry, run about, dance, die (that is the world as I knew it when I was young and a Frenchman); I scarcely bother myself about it any longer, now that I am old and an Indian. Yet I still deeply desire that the Good Lord will bless them and preserve the gift of the faith which is so precious in them. May they become less guilty of the abuse of so many favors before God.

Farewell, dear and respected friend. My homage to Monseigneur and respectful greetings to all.

Entirely yours with respect and devotion,

B. Petit
Ptre. Mre.

Will you request for me from France a good ordinary alarm watch with a double case, also the theological dictionary by Bergier?[78] My little watch is always at variance with the sun; I never know which will win out in the end. *Nin Muckahtaokônia Chichipé Outipé angenickaso gatamikoa tchaïai Muckatahokônia Autchakpock Kick.* I, the Black Robe, called the "duck's head," I greet all the Black Robes from the mouth to the source (Vincennes).

[77]Petit left Chichipé Outipé for South Bend on February 10. He returned on February 26.

[78]Nicholas Sylvestre Bergier (1715-1890), French theologian.

[Addressed:] To the Very Revd. C. de la Hailandière Pastor of the Catholic congregation Vincennes, (Knox Cty). Indiana.

PETIT TO BISHOP BRUTÉ, April 1, 1838

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA[79]]

SOUTH BEND, 1 April, 1838.

MONSEIGNEUR,

I conclude, from the last letter I received from M. de la Hailandière, that by today you are back from your journey (may it have been good for your precious health!). That is why I am addressing you this letter, in which my inexperience consults you for decisions it needs to make.

. . . . . .

I baptized an American woman married to a French Catholic—that is, nonpracticing Catholic. I wanted to have him come to confession in order to marry them; I did not succeed, and, when his wife told him to come to me, he said, "No." Should I, notwithstanding his refusal, ignore it and give them nuptial benediction for the sake of the wife, a Catholic today and very well disposed?

Last week I took a little journey:[80] I went to Leesburg, forty miles away, to preach at the funeral of a poor Maryland Catholic[81] who, when dying, asked for this. His whole family is Catholic, but for twenty-two years they have not seen a priest; I also found there an Irishman[82] and his family and a Frenchman, all of whom are Catholic. My coming was known in the region, and a large and brilliant assemblage gathered at the home of the deceased. At the appointed time I arrived by horse and proceeded to bless the grave; then I betook myself to a large house, where some seats were provided. Everybody around me was Protestant except my Irishman and my Frenchman. I knelt, and after a brief prayer I was much amazed to find myself speaking to them with such ease. It was as if the voice of the deceased had called upon me

[79]The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

[80]See Petit's Journal, *post,* p. 125.

[81]Mr. Norris. See Petit's Journal, *post,* p. 125.

[82]Probably Mr. Horan. See Petit's Journal, *post,* p. 125.

to justify the faith he had always professed: condemnation of private interpretation, authority, the established precept of Jesus Christ, unity of doctrine, the line of succession in the apostolic mission, the cross, images, invocation of saints, remission of sins, confessions (they said M. Coquillard gets a license every year for 100 dollars to do everything he pleases during the year without jeopardizing his soul!), purgatory, prayer for the dead. In the heat of my conclusion I asked the audience to pray for the deceased, to join their prayers to mine: was I not wrong to speak thus to Protestants? It was not well considered; I said it inadvertently. When I was coming to a close, an old man, his temples sparsely covered with gray hair, with an inward and remorseful expression, began to groan, "Oh, Lord!" That made me end at once.

I saw there several savages, not of the faith, drinking and sinning. One of them told me he did not know God and it was indeed good to drink; he had just received a knife wound and was naked, having only his girdle and a blanket on his back. He made fun of me. I spoke with another, who did not like to drink, but he was a gambler; I gave him a shilling for tobacco and he promised me he would come to confession at Chichipé. Some drunken Indian women came there; I did not speak to them. You will not understand—I myself do not know why—my heart was so sick when I saw them act so badly. The good Lord has made me so full of pity for them that, although I had never seen them before, when I realized what a sad plight they were in and that they needed only a priest and a little time to make them as good as my poor little children, I wept bitterly for them in my soul. They have souls, too, and redemption is for them, too. I assure you that they understood me well although they had never heard me before. Some say I shall speak passable Indian in three months. All I know is that I love them much, I love their language, and I pray the good Lord to bless me as an instrument for their salvation: that is my sole desire. May His holy will be accomplished in me; I am too happy when I consider my busy life, and at the present moment I dare to hope I shall be carrying out the intentions of His Providence.

On my way back I said Mass with a German family at Goshen; there I baptized a child of this Lutheran, to whom I believe you spoke on your journey last spring with regard to the baptism of his children.

I have begun my Easter labors; I shall indeed be busy.

I have the honor, Monseigneur, to offer you the homage of the very respectful and submissive devotion of your son and priest,

B. Petit
Ptre. Mre.

My health, Monseigneur, is very good.

No news from Washington, except that our business is under consideration and they are attending to it. What will be the outcome? I wait and pray.

[Addressed:] To the Right Revd. Bishop Bruté Vincennes (Knox Cty.) Indiana

Petit to His Family, April 4, 1838[83]

[Translated from *Annales,* XI (1838-39), No. LXV, 389-91]

My cherished home now is my Indians' village. There I have a grand habitation built of entire logs placed one above the other; in more than one spot we can see daylight through the walls. My fireplace would be large enough to contain a quarter of a cord of wood. I don't walk on rugs, but on planks which, not being fastened, tremble underfoot like piano keys under a musician's fingers. At night I throw a mat with two coverlets down on them—one above, the other beneath me—and I sleep on this poor bed as well as I should on the most sumptuous couch in the world.

Last week I had to go to Turkey Creek to preach at the grave of a poor Catholic who died without having seen a priest for twenty years at least. There were only two Catholic families in that region—all the rest were Protestant. The gathering was large; the Methodist ministers had come there. Obliged to preach in English, I was afraid of being nervous. But God takes pity on us, and more than once I proved the

[83]The date of this letter is given in the *Annales* as April 4, 1838. Under April 10, Petit's Journal mentions a "letter to France."

force of Jesus Christ's promise: "Take no thought how or what ye shall speak: for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak."[84] I knelt in a corner of a large room filled with benches, addressed a brief prayer to God, recited an *Ave Maria;* and then, having made the sign of the cross, I spoke about an hour—completely at my ease. It was the voice of the dead man justifying the faith he had professed in life—condemnation of private interpretation, the divine institution of authority, the uninterrupted mission of the Catholic Church, unity of doctrine, and, finally, a reply to the numerous calumnies spread against us. The nomadic life of the missionary is entirely designed to remove him from worldly desires. It is in living thus—always going from place to place—that one feels one's self only a passer-by on the earth. Never have I had more freedom of spirit. I believe I can truly say that I wish to die, if God wills it, without ever having felt tired of life. Amidst these labors my health seems to become fortified. Well, perhaps forty years of this mission, and then heaven! Perhaps not even forty days, and then heaven! I accept willingly one or the other—it matters little which—provided I am in good favor with God. . . .

I now face the sad prospect of my Indian mission's early destruction, and it is like a dark background to the picture of my present life. I begin, however, to feel more resigned. A trip to Washington, with pressing protestations to the President, has been without effect. My poor Indians have only one chance left.[85] Will they succeed? God knows. As for me, I must dry their tears when they go into exile—I must destroy the altar and the church, lay low the cross which stands on their graves, in order to spare the sacred articles from profana-

[84]Matthew 10:19.

[85]Petit perhaps means that the Indians might defend their claims in the courts. John Tipton, in his report to Governor Wallace, wrote: "The Indians were under the influence of bad counsel from different sources. They were owing large debts to the traders, who opposed the emigration of the Indians before their debts were paid or secured. Some were anxious to keep them where they were, hoping to obtain, with ease, a part of the money paid them as annuity. Lawyers, I am told, advised Me-no-mi-nee to keep possession, and defend his claim to the reserve in our courts." No such steps were taken. Indiana *Senate Journal,* 1838-39, pp. 727-30. See *post,* p. 81.

tion, and then I must say farewell to those whom I love and who love me so much, never to see them again! And these Christian souls will waste away without the aid of the sacraments of which they partook with such love, and languish under a strange sky where I, their father, probably cannot follow them.

Ah, I shall do everything possible to keep from abandoning them! If they leave, I want to go with them at least as far as the Jesuit missions on the Mississippi, which have not yet become active.[86] And meanwhile many of my Christians, my children, will die without a priest to absolve them. God alone knows all my heartaches—for three months I have been seeking to know and do His just and merciful will in regard to all this.

Petit to Bishop Bruté, May 26, 1838

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA[87]]

South Bend, 26 May, 1838.

Monseigneur,

I have gone longer than usual without giving you an account of my time, but I have been so busy celebrating Easter with those whom my heart loves so much to call my children, that I have not been able to find a moment to do it.

I departed for Chichipé Outipé on Tuesday of Holy Week; I had celebrated Easter at South Bend and Bertrand the previous weeks. From Wednesday of Holy Week until the fourth Sunday after Easter inclusive, we heard confessions constantly from morning until evening, hardly having time to eat. In all that time I had respite only when I was called to visit the sick, once on the Tippecanoe and again at South Bend, when it was Mme. Coquillard's sister.[88] She was the first person I have seen die. She heard and understood me until the end; the good Lord helped me. An impressive burial, a funeral sermon before an audience wholly Protestant (or at least largely Protestant), Catholic burial in the Catholic cemetery which I laid out on your land at the lake.

[86]See *ante,* pp. 50-51n.

[87]The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

[88]Mrs. John A. Hendricks, a half-sister of Mme. Coquillard. Chapman, *History of St. Joseph County,* p. 502.

The number of communions was 208. I cannot tell you the number of baptisms and marriages, having left my list at Chichipé; it was large,[89] and a good number had hearts fully receptive to grace. I had the happiness of baptizing an American Baptist woman of the vicinity. After every kind of opposition and contradiction on the part of her husband, she finally obtained an indirect consent, of which we took advantage.

On May 14 I departed with Mlle. Campeau for Pokagon's. There from the 16th until the 24th inclusive we heard confessions and preached; there I heard my first confession without an interpreter: only one word was troublesome to understand, and my exhortation was very well understood. I understand almost everything now, and I myself ask the ordinary questions. The number of communions was 63, baptisms 15,[90] and marriages 5.

All these Indians, or most of them, have settled on their own land, pay taxes, and enjoy general esteem and confidence. I saw an American who, knowing Pokagon was departing for Bertrand, handed him some money to pay his debts there without taking a receipt. They work quite wonderfully.

The number of Catholics has increased considerably. A German of the vicinity proposes to add his own personal subscription[91] of 1,000 piasters (others say 500) to M. Coquillard's generous one. A good number of Irishmen told M. Coquillard recently that, if I came to South Bend, they would proceed to settle in the neighborhood; that, if I went to the Yellow River, they would settle there: for them no reason exists for this decision other than proximity to a priest and the Church.

Such, Monseigneur, is a brief sketch of the present condition of the immense mission confided to the care of your poor young priest. To say we are tired would be quite easy, but the good Lord gives us strength. When we went to Pokagon's,

[89]According to the Baptismal Register Petit performed twenty-seven baptisms at Chichipé Outipé during the months of April and May. *Post,* pp. 138-39.

[90]Eighteen baptisms and four marriages are recorded. See *post,* p. 139.

[91]To the Church.

the labor of the journey brought us out of our seclusion of five weeks, and we rested by working again.

Remember Demoiselle Campeau is 72 years old, thanks to the Lord.

We shall take eight days' rest[92] at South Bend and then return to celebrate the feast of the Pentecost[93] with the Indians. We need a little rest, however, and I am invited to take it with a Frenchman who is married to a rich Indian woman, formerly one of my children. I shall stay there probably for several days.

Here is a case to decide: an Indian woman lived five years with an American who was not baptized or Protestant; she fell ill; Mlle. Campeau privately baptized her on condition that she leave this man. She recovered and returned to him; M. Deseille refused her admission to the sacraments and to the subsequent ceremonies of baptism as long as she stayed with him. Without presuming to reflect upon the opinions of those who are better instructed than I and who have thought differently, I do not believe this should be required of this woman (I Cor. 7:13: "If any woman have a husband that believeth not and he consent to dwell with her, let her not put away her husband"). This is all the more true because this woman has not only not declined her duties as a Christian but even urges him to perform them. There is one obstacle to reinstatement, however, and that is the astonishment others would feel at it; but a false scandal, all things considered, should not make a soul believe she has an illicit connection when in truth she has not. This is my opinion: she is determined to leave him today; if he is unwilling to become a Christian and marry, I do not think I have the right to impose the obligation upon him. *Quid juris?*[94]

There is no *bis in idem*[95] in the fifty per cent incurred by the delinquency in the tax payment and the 100% interest per year. One is for the mere fact of delinquency in tax payment; the other is for the greater or lesser delinquency in tax payment and the penalty incurred—two very different things.

[92]He actually took only five. See his Journal, *post*, p. 126.

[93]Pentecost this year occurred on June 3.

[94]What is the law?

[95]Double application.

However, I have the proper receipt; if there was any error, I could get my money back.

I am going to be obliged to employ the sheriff and the law against an American who has cut some wood on your land at the lake. However, I want to speak to him politely first: if he will pay willingly, well and good; if not, I shall use authority. After all, we must stop the depredations. Apparently I like lawsuits—what do you think, Monseigneur? I thought I didn't.

I lent the savages the 200-dollar bill which you had given me to go to Washington; they needed it for their own journey, and, as you had intended it to be spent for them, I thought I would be carrying out your intention thus. If I am mistaken, scold me; perhaps I deserve it.

Monseigneur, it is in no wise for the purpose of objecting to or of obstructing your decision concerning me, but this is what I ought to submit for your consideration: the emigration of the savages is far from having been decided upon; even in case the agents succeed in what they are attempting, a large number of Christians will remain on lands they still possess; the affair of the treaty will be pleaded before a judge,[96] and perhaps, who knows? the mission will go on. In any case they do not want to leave, and the government's orders are not to use force; so a good number will still remain scattered throughout the country on farms they will buy. Mlle. Campeau is old and becoming tired: she speaks of returning to her beautiful lands, for you know (and this increases the value of her devotion) that she is very rich. We have both got on very well, and she likes me very much; if I leave, she will leave, too. Then how shall we give all these Christian Indians (no longer savage: they are less so than most of these coarse American woodsmen) the help of religion? Consider also that without my being able to do serious work among them the good Lord has in a few months given me knowledge of a part of their language, the favor of making myself understood in many ways, and a good Indian pronunciation: I read and write their language sufficiently to be well understood and read by them, and everybody says that before winter I shall be able to dispense with an interpreter at all confessions; they themselves

[96] See *ante*, p. 66n.

show their astonishment at this. I, too, am very much surprised that I am able to express my ideas in this language, which, moreover, I love very much and which is very musical. They say that in a year I shall speak good Indian; thus I would become, if God wills it, an Indian missionary. This is all the more strange because in the few months I have spent here several long intervals have occurred without my saying a single word in Indian; sometimes I remained an entire month at South Bend. My temperament agrees with theirs, and remember (I must tell you everything), I am more Indian than any of the priests I know. An old woman said to me a short time ago, "I am sad, Father; I think perhaps you will go away soon to the great Black Robe and we shall see you no more." "If my chief desires it, I must obey; I am not my own master. But God will send you another French father in my place." "Yes," she told me, "he would be a Frenchman, but you are already a Potawatomi and soon will be nothing but a Potawatomi."

There are, Monseigneur, many little things one must overlook in them, in regard to the amenities of life, and to scorn these amenities readily is to have seen the emptiness of the world. A missionary entrusted with them must also understand a little about business, for he is their father in everything. The good Lord makes me feel the sweet joy of serving Him, and sometimes my heart overflows with joy and my eyes with sweet tears as I think of my happy fate.

I believe, Monseigneur, I ought to tell you all this, but do not think, I beg you, that I am any the less submissive to Your Reverence's decisions, whatever they may be.

With respect and submission, your son and priest,

B. Petit.

In regard to M. Badin's tax, I cannot pay it, not knowing his section numbers exactly; if you can send them to me, I shall be able to pay it. A good part of the land has not yet been taxed, and taxes on the rest of it amount to only 3 dollars. There is no danger in a little delay, and then I shall certainly pay without the risk of paying for another; in such a case there is no recourse, the money being immediately used for schools.

I have seen the law regarding paid taxes and regarding the *bis in idem* of Judge Moore[97]: the law and the Judge are not of the same opinion.

The agent who is coming to get the Indians is the son-in-law of the Baptist Missionary, McCoy[98]; he says there are some French priests down there. What priests can they be?—without mission, without means of making money (you will know the facts better than I). The priest might be a Frenchman from the diocese of Bardstown. Who sent him there? *In manus Domini commendo me et meas oves.*

[Addressed:] To the Right Rd. Bishop Bruté Vincennes (Knox Cty.) Indiana

Petit to His Family, May 31, 1838

[Translated from *Annales,* XI (1838-39), No. xlv, 391]

I have gone longer than usual without writing to you, but it was Easter time, and the poor missionary was burdened with work. . . .

First, I have celebrated Easter at Bertrand in Michigan, then at South Bend. After this I left for Chichipé Outipé, where for five weeks I heard confession from morning to evening without any rest other than two visits to sick people[99] forty miles distant from each other. Thence I had to bear ministerial consolation to Chief Pokagon, sixty miles from Chichipé Outipé, in Michigan. Perhaps you think missionaries are saints, but I shall admit to you that all this time I scarcely ever could say a prayer. Confessions finished and the breviary told, I fell asleep on my mat. Fortunately my sleep is always like that of a child—calm, refreshing, and without interruption. Truly—and this thought consoles me—the day's fatigue was all for the glory of the good Lord, to whom I gave myself entirely; He is good enough to accept it as a continual prayer.

[97]Unidentified.

[98]William Polke, a brother-in-law, not a son-in-law of Isaac McCoy, was to conduct this emigrating party. During 1824 and 1825 he had been associated with Carey Mission and later was a teacher among the Ottawa. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions,* pp. 205, 213-17, 224, 258-59.

[99]A sick woman at Benack's home on the Tippecanoe and Mrs. John A. Hendricks at South Bend. See Petit's Journal, *post,* p. 126.

It would be a continual sacrifice for him who could render it well. Yet there are still many moments when, in spite of the weariness of soul which fatigue brings, my heart is filled with joy and my eyes are moist with sweet tears—it is so good to be in a world where one has nothing to do but work for God!

Thanks to Thee, my Lord!

Petit to Bishop Bruté, June 20 and 23, 1838

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA[1]]

20 June, 1838, Chichipé Outipé

Monseigneur,

I am taking advantage of one of the first leisure moments I have been able to find in a long time to inform you of the blessings which the good Lord has bestowed upon the mission entrusted to your child. Since Easter the number of baptisms at Chichipé Outipé has been 83 and at Pokagon's 15.[2] I gave you the number of communions at the Chichipé Outipé mission at Easter time; since the feast of the Pentecost there have been 166 here. Another thing which doubtless will surprise you is that today, to the Indians' great satisfaction, I am hearing confessions without an interpreter, understanding their language rather well and speaking it sufficiently to give them advice and question them. I began at the Pentecost: I had asked this favor of the good Lord on that great day. Mlle. Campeau's great fatigue induced me to try, and I saw that they understood me and I understood them better than I thought I could. The good Lord indeed helps missionaries; I am very glad, for the idea of an interpreter is quite incongruous.

I had the happiness of easing at death a young Indian girl who had been sick for four years, and I was much exalted by the beautiful signs which she made with all the ardor of a saint at the least word of mine. She understood me well; I comforted her in her death agony.

Since that time I have had to baptize an Indian forty miles from here on the Eel River,[3] and there too I heard confessions

[1]The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

[2]See *ante*, p. 68.

[3]At the village of the Potawatomi chief, Louison (Weeson, Wesaw). See Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 126.

all the time I was there from morning until evening. Everybody was surprised, including me, to hear me speak Indian.

A French lady[4] whose confession I heard at Christmas time came eighty miles to spend a day here, along with her son and two young daughters, whom she had prepared for their first communion. I had heard all their confessions last Christmas at Bertrand, where they had come for the festivities. They were much edified by the Indians, and the Indians by them. After spending a day and a half with us, they left weeping. The charity with which the Indians welcome Catholics who come to pray with them from time to time is an edifying thing. It gives me pleasure to see their fraternal affection in Jesus Christ; their hearts are indeed under the influence of grace.

St. Mary of the Lake, 23 June: Upon arriving yesterday I found your good and respected letter dated May 25. I think you have received the one I myself wrote to you dated May 26[5] and that excess of work will have excused my silence.

I felt something in my heart which announced to me the decision you have made for me, and every day at High Mass I prayed the good Lord to explain your decision for His glory and our salvation. The good Lord treats me like a spoiled child; I have been thus favored all my life. It is truly a blessing to be placed in the midst of souls like these, and the ties of the ministry are like family ties; not that there are no difficulties (they have to exist everywhere), but the consolations outweigh them.

Now to business. *First*: a man and a woman are living together; the man is baptized, and his wife had been earlier. M. Deseille told him to tell his wife to come so that they might get married. He did not tell his wife, and she knew nothing about it until much later; then she said to him, "Well, let's go and get married." "No," replied he. "I will not marry you." Am I to consider his continued cohabitation as an implicit marriage, or his silence and then his refusal to be married as a proof of lack of consent since his baptism? "I can take another wife," he reasons; "I am not married." As long as he

[4]Mme. Mouton. See Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 127.

[5]See *ante*, pp. 67-72.

was not married before a priest, he has never considered himself bound; there has not been, therefore, this consent which alone can bind. I tried to reunite them, to reconcile them: it never lasts more than a day, and a bad situation is certain if they are married. There might be a way to consider them not bound, I think; they are again separated now, and neither one desires a reunion. I think they may be considered free, the consent of both not having coexisted. The man has already taken another wife and lived with her a good part of the winter; as soon as they returned to the mission from hunting, I separated them.

Second: an unbeliever becomes disgusted with his wife, puts her away, and takes his first wife's sister; both are unbelievers. The first wife is afterwards baptized; he has been, too, but the obligation of leaving his second wife, with whom he was then living, was imposed upon him because she was his sister-in-law. Could this be done? He was able to take her, being an unbeliever; could he be forced to leave her when he became a Christian? She has a numerous family by him and his brother, for they are doubly brothers- and sisters-in-law, the two sisters having at the outset been the two brothers' wives. When he was baptized, it was a long time after he had taken his sister-in-law for a wife (I believe it was five or six years), and he had completely given up the other. He wants a wife, but he doesn't know what to do. No one will separate him from the one he wants because he was once an evildoer; he will never take back his first wife: he cannot be forced to do it. He had left her a long time before his baptism; he separated from his second wife out of obedience when he was baptized, but he would like to take her back.

You ask me if I think it proper for you to come and give confirmation at Chichipé Outipé now. As you say, they (the Americans) would say you were coming to prevent the savages from departing; they would see a Catholic attempt at high treason in it. Soon, I hope—perhaps in September—I shall welcome you here more peaceably.

At Washington the government has given the Indians no answer; apart from that hope, your lands are lost. But the Indians have received the advice of people of the highest rank

in the legislature, and they are following it. Their case will come to trial and will be heard in the near future in the Federal Court at Indianapolis. Their lawyer declares stoutly to whoever will listen that the savages are sure of winning.[6]

The agent in charge of the emigration[7] is now on the scene, but up to the present time the savages have paid no attention to him: they farm and build their houses under his very eyes, driving him frantic. "They are like pillars: there is no way to budge them from their homes," he recently said, right out in public. When he says anything to them, the savages reduce him to silence in short order, forcefully and spiritedly, and they declare positively that they will not go. Some savages came from the Mississippi and told them it was better to be wretched here than to go down there, where one dies of hunger and where the land produces nothing. Attempts were made to bribe them to say it was fine: they refused the money and declared they would not deceive their brothers.

As for me, this is my situation: the first individual I met at the mission upon returning from Pokagon's was the agent. He was on horseback and I also. "Are you the gentleman living at the chapel?" "Yes, sir." "I am the superintendent of Indian affairs." A nod of the head was my reply. "I shall come to see you one of these days. I shall be here for some time, sir."

And then the days passed; he didn't come; finally he came. There was a rather large number of savages present. He sat down on the threshold of a little house in the yard, his interpreter at his side; I even think they slept there for some time. Then they took their horses again and departed without saying anything to anyone.

The third time he came: "Sir, may I speak to you for a moment?" "Yes, sir." Without witnesses, seated on a block of wood at the end of the chapel, we entered into conversation. "Sir, am I to consider you an enemy of the government, interfering with the carrying out of its policy here?" "Not in

[6]See *ante*, p. 66n, and *post*, p. 81.

[7]William Polke. By June 28 between four and five hundred Indians were collected near Plymouth in preparation for the emigration. Logansport *Herald*, June 28, 1838, p. 3, c. 1.

the least." "Are you here as a lawyer or as the minister of a religion?" "It is true, sir, that I have studied and practiced law, but today I am a priest and occupied solely with my ministry; such are the orders I have received from my Bishop, and I conform to them. As for emigration, I have never said anything for or against it, and I never shall say anything; I leave such things alone. As for acting as a lawyer, I gave that up a long time ago; I shall not be one again except in case I am personally attacked or my rights are challenged." "Sir, I have accusations against you." "I know that, sir, and the men who accuse me are the same men who accuse Mlle. Campeau. Well, a month ago, in the presence of the general agent,[8] one of them rose and said he had witnesses to prove that Mlle. Campeau was holding them back. She defied him publicly to produce them, and he tried to do it, but they all replied to him, 'I don't know.' And yet they had signed the accusation. Such are the accusations against me; you know them." "Accordingly, I deemed it more proper to come to you directly: the gentlemanly way you received me demanded that, sir; and from the first moment I saw you I thought there was too much good sense in your head for you to be the man these people describe." "You have done well, sir; Col. Pepper was obliged to repent having been too hasty last year with M. Deseille. I claim as a right among gentlemen that you should come to me to obtain the explanations which these people's accusations may render necessary." "Sir, many innocent persons are persecuted because false reports deceive government officials. As for us, we have no intention of embarrassing you in the exercise of your ministry. We do not think of depriving the Indians of it as long as they remain here." "Sir, that is a right which the Constitution of the United States guarantees me." "Are you an alien or a citizen?" "I am a Frenchman." "Well, then, it is true, not being subject to the law, you cannot be punished, but you can be ejected from Indian territory." "Only if it were proved against me that I am at fault, and one accusation is not enough." "That is correct, sir. I do not know, sir, why the Indians always believe we are lying." "That is very simple, sir. During the last few years ten or twelve men have come

[8]Colonel Abel C. Pepper.

who have so grossly lied to the Indians and who have posed as agents that today the Indians naturally believe an agent is a man paid to deceive them. For example, M. ———, the assistant agent,[9] asked me to make an announcement to the Indians concerning the priest they were to obtain to accompany them. I did not think I should take what he told me seriously: to some he says one thing and to others another." "Sir, perhaps there is a way to reconcile apparent contradictions." "Sir, that is what he told me, and to be more convincing he named non-existent bishops to me: this is what one of them told M. ——, and that is a third version of M. ——'s. I felt I could not make an announcement on such authority." "That is true, sir." And then he showed me some of his instructions—all the more firm for being polite—to try to persuade them to leave. And then came an invitation to visit him, and his surprise when he learned that the mission's savages had a private, personal claim on me. He pretended that their neighbors could have sold this land. "I did not know that. . . . It is true," says he, "that it was wrong to get their names thus," and then, "Come to see me at my house, and I shall inform you about the whole business." I prefer not to be informed, and I have no leisure. After all this it was wonderful the way we politely said good-bye. I remained there almost two weeks longer, but I did not see him again.

The outward symptoms are these: the American invaders, who were once proud and arrogant, have for some time been very gentle. Some are moving away: yesterday one of them offered to sell me his cow; he had to go away today. They inquire whether the savages will at least pay for their labor. And finally our accusers were fishing in the lake the other day, and they sent us their fish by the savages, not daring to bring them themselves, but wishing to become reconciled. Moreover, prayer rises to heaven, and the salvation of numerous Christians will be greatly imperiled if injustice prevails here. I have put the Indians under the Holy Virgin's protection, and I do it again every day. August 15[10] is the day set for them to know

[9]Amaziah Morgan.

[10]By July 26, Petit had given up hope. See his letter to Bruté, *post*, pp. 81-87.

the final decision; on this feast of the Virgin I am hoping for the end of their troubles.

Here I am again at the end of my paper, and I do not have space to express to my Bishop properly the respectful homage of his son and priest.

B. Petit

M. de la Hailandière is good enough to tell me of a desire to see me at Vincennes; I have sometimes thought about this, but I have been so busy that I hesitate to undertake a trip of 580 miles except for absolute necessity. It may be, however, that I can do it later, about September, perhaps, to go fetch some of my belongings. I would do it with a savage, carrying a tent, and without great expense. Perhaps I shall not do it either; they count the days of my absence too painfully.

I should like very much to be able to sell Tom,[11] and with the money I could buy a pair of oxen and a plow for the land belonging to the Indians. It may be, however, that I should take him along myself; he is good and strong for labor. We shall see later.

Could you take in a young Indian at Vincennes for the winter? He is eighteen years old, pious as an angel, speaks, reads, and writes English; I intend him to be a schoolmaster, and he will do much good, but I should like very much for him to perfect himself a little more, and work with your gentlemen.

I intended, Monseigneur, to ask you for M. Deseille's Billuart for the collection of payments for Masses. If you prefer to keep it for yourself, I do not absolutely insist upon it; still, I should like to have it.

During the next two weeks I am going to rest a little; I need to, for I have not had a moment since Easter.

Please pray for us.

My respects to everyone, priests and laymen.

[Addressed:] To the Right Revd. Doctor Bruté Catholic Bishop of Vincennes (Knox Cty.) Indiana

[11]His horse, which died a few days later.

Petit to His Family, July 9, 1838

[Translated from *Annales,* XI (1838-39), No. LXV, 392-93]

As long as the savages stay in Indiana, I think, I shall be their missionary. God, by means of a grace which He grants more to their piety than to my solicitude, gave me the power today to dispense with an interpreter for confession and ordinary conversation. I am greatly astonished to hear myself speak Indian with them. Although I have had no leisure to study their language, they listen to me and understand me well. Ah, I am beginning now especially, in this sudden flowering, to perceive all the beauty of these new souls! Their attachment for me, and mine for them, is much stronger today than ever. But meanwhile the moment is coming when, I fear, I shall see the mission's destruction. From time to time a ray of hope gives my heart a passing serenity. I entrust everything, however, to God's hands—He knows best what is good for us.

I feel a singular attachment for everything which concerns the savages. When I travel in the woods, if I see an Indian cabin, even an abandoned camp site, I feel my heart beat with joy. If I discover some Indians walking along my path, all my fatigue is forgotten. And when their smiles greet me from afar (for all, or nearly all, of them know me, and even those who have not been baptized call me their father), I am refreshed as if my own family were welcoming me. When I am on a mission among the whites, my Potawatomi worriedly count the days of my absence, and I too consider the occasion of my arrival at Chichipé Outipé as a feast day. What joy, what handshakes, what blessings before and after evening prayer! And then, when darkness comes, they no longer can leave my wigwam—they seem to be nailed there.

Ah, if I were free, when they go to Mississippi, they would not go without a priest! . . .

I have had the good fortune since Easter of baptizing 102 infidels among them, and I have counted 434 communions. Indeed there are some Protestants, too, on the road to conversion, but their number is small. I have so little time and so much to do among the savages, and my white congregations are so far from giving me the same happiness as my poor redskins!

Petit to Bishop Bruté, July 26, 1838

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA[12]]

Chichipé Outipé, 26 July, 1838

Monseigneur,

First, to give you a report of the trip to Washington: it was useless. "I do not wish to speak of it," said the President. "Your names are on the treaty; your lands are lost," said the Secretary of War. "But here is one of the witnesses to the treaty who will show you how everything was a fraud." "I do not need to be shown, and we did not need your signatures: the great chiefs of the nation were entitled to sell your reserve."

Second, the lawyers admit that the case cannot be pleaded before the Federal Court because the government refuses to become a party and no jury is possible. The land is lost, and without recourse, I believe.

Our position is still painful, today more than ever, but God protects us. They are carrying the emigration forward, and with a perseverance and tenacity to which a large number of Indians will yield, although there will always remain a certain number among the old who refuse to hear of going there.[13] They still have some lands here and there, and later, perhaps, we shall see what should be done.

At the council held for the emigration the first chief arose, interrupting the savage interpreter, seized the agent's hand, and said to him: "Look here, Father; our lands belong to us. We shall keep them; we do not wish to talk to you any more."[14]

[12]The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

[13]Abel C. Pepper, superintendent, and other emigration officials held a council at Menominee's Reserve on July 17 and 18. Pepper warned the Indians that their refusal to remove would be a clear violation of the treaty obligation entered into with the President, and would oblige the use of force against them. Pepper's speech, and a reply made for the Potawatomi by "Sangoaw," reiterating the refusal of the chiefs to move, are printed in the Logansport *Telegraph* of July 21, 1838, p. 2, c. 1-4.

[14]Menominee is probably referred to here, although he is not mentioned in the account of the council given in the Logansport *Telegraph, loc. cit.* McDonald (*History of Marshall County,* I, 21) quotes a bystander's version of a speech made by Menominee that fits the circumstances: "Members of the Council: The President does not know the truth. He, like me, has been imposed upon. He does not know that your treaty is a lie, and that I never

This was taken as an insult to the President, and a report was made asking for authorization to use force if they refused to leave their lands. But there will be no occasion for this, as they have no idea of resistance.

An assistant agent[15] wrote me a letter in which he held me responsible for the Indians' conduct. I replied to him immediately, I wrote to his superior, and I announced my intention of making a complaint to Washington. Lo and behold! the day before yesterday the assistant agent came into my tent, seven or eight miles from here[16] (after having inquired whether I was not too angry), and told me he had written on the spur of the moment, without reflecting. I made him admit the untruth and impropriety of his letter, and he declared his desire for a reconcilation with me.

Everyone seems full of consideration for me, but I know they are full of suspicion. The assistant agent said he wanted me to depart with the Indians: the government, everybody, will be delighted if I do it. I should not, I tell them, have any personal objection, but I am answerable to my Bishop, and he has few priests in an enormous diocese.

Such is our present situation; here is my personal one: body tired but in good health, spirit troubled, heart suffering from anxiety and yet calm enough for complete submission. I trust

signed it. He does not know that you made my young chiefs drunk and got their consent and pretended to get mine. He does not know that I have refused to sell my lands and still refuse. He would not by force drive me from my home, the graves of my tribe, and my children who have gone to the Great Spirit, nor allow you to tell me your braves will take me, tied like a dog, if he knew the truth. My brothers, the President is just, but he listens to the word of the young chiefs who have lied; and when he knows the truth he will leave me to my own. I have not sold my lands. I will not sell them. I have not signed any treaty, and will not sign any. I am not going to leave my lands, and I don't want to hear anything more about it."

The La Porte *Herald,* quoted in the Logansport *Herald* of August 16, 1838, p. 2, c. 5, attacked Menominee's position on the grounds that (1) the lands had been granted in the first place to his band and not to him as an individual; (2) he was not a Potawatomi and not entitled to rank as chief; (3) he had consented in 1834 to sell part of the reserve at half the price agreed upon in the treaty of 1836.

[15]Probably Amaziah Morgan.

[16]Petit was traveling in the neighborhood at this time. See *post,* p. 128.

wholly in my all-powerful Lord. If a large number of Christians depart, I should like to be able to follow them, at least until I can place them in the hands of another pastor. Why? Because they depart alone, recent Christians, for the most part hardly steadfast yet, thrust amidst Protestant corruptions which have pulpits everywhere in the place of exile destined for them; in a little while they will lose the fruit of M. Deseille's very great labors. Because if our brothers in France know they departed for exile without a priest's offering to accompany them, they will be surprised, and the fact will be unique in the history of missions. Because I know my presence would be their protection during the journey, for I have learned indirectly that the management of the Indians would be entrusted to me, as the agents recognize that their power is as nothing in comparison with the priest's influence; until now they have been driven like dogs on these journeys, and they arrived down there broken-hearted and dispirited from mistreatment on the way; it would be fine to see religion with maternal tenderness protecting and consoling these new-born children, so worthy of sympathy and so unfortunate if abandoned. Because the diocese would lose nothing by it: I should return perhaps within a year, as soon as I could place my children, my tender children, in safe hands. Because the time will not be wasted as far as I am concerned, since the fatigues of charity offered to God have value through Jesus Christ. Because in the immense territory on the left bank of the Mississippi which has been opened to the missions it would be of great importance to have a fully developed mission for a base, and by going I could get advantageous concessions from the government for this settlement, which may prosper greatly through His future favor. Because my Bishop could not refuse me this without reducing these poor children to the plight of exposed infants whom Providence, it is true, can save but who, humanly speaking, are completely destitute of aid. Because a good father would not do such a thing, and my Bishop is a good father. Those are many of the reasons for my request; there are still many more.

On the other hand they do not wish to depart, and the government intends to force them to abandon only their re-

serve; they still have private lands and can settle on them. Like others they will be subject to and protected by the law. But I should not like to take upon myself the responsibility for any decision on their part. I suspect the promises to be fulfilled on the other side of the river; the slight dependability hitherto shown is a poor guarantee. On the other hand, dispersed among the whites, they will, I think, be very unhappy for a while. But they have such an aversion to going there, that to speak of it is to expose myself to the loss of their confidence. I want always to leave them to themselves regarding this, but, whatever their decision, religion ought if possible to protect them. Such is my position; I wait, hope, and pray. Here or at the Mississippi, it is absolutely the same to me; let my Lord speak a word—that is all.

If by chance the agents write to you, please keep in mind when replying the possibility of inquiring, before a definite decision pro or con is made, about new developments, new motives. I wish to go only with the majority, and I should not want my departure to be the reason for their decision.

Others have the satisfaction of reporting to you that, as a result of their labors, new churches arise amidst their congregations, but I, remote indeed from this happiness, will within a few days destroy this church whence so many fervid prayers rose to Heaven—this altar where hitherto I have so many times received my Savior and around which I have so often seen such a large number of these good Indians crowded together to receive their Lord.

No pre-emption for us: our improvements are anterior to the extinction of the savages' title. The site of the mission has been pre-empted, and on August 5 an American will take possession of the house I occupy there.[17] I should not like to

[17]The pre-emption law of June 22, 1838, governing the right of pre-emption on the lands sold by the Indians by the treaties of 1836, denied "a right of pre-emption to any person or persons, in consequence of any settlement or improvement made before the extinguishment of the Indian title to the land on which such settlement or improvement was made. . . ." U. S. *Statutes at Large,* V, 251-52. The chapel at the Yellow River had been erected in 1835 and no pre-emption claim could be made for it. The Potawatomi of the Yellow River reserve and at the reserve at Chechaukkose's Village on the Tippecanoe had both granted land to the Church (*ante,* p.

see the church in their hands: they will, perhaps, make a stable of the house of God. I think we shall destroy it, except in the event of opposition.

At first I was troubled by your memorial to Washington[18] by which, without knowing where we stood in the case, you interfered in its progress with a step against the spirit of neutrality which I observed by your order—a step likely to cast on the Catholic clergy the suspicion (which you say exists at Washington) of our influencing the Potawatomi to remain. At first I thought I saw a lack of ordinary prudence in this. But God can resolve all: I entrusted all to Him. At first, however, I was dismayed and unhappy, I confess.

The good Lord has taken away my horse, fine, young, vigorous, and living freely in the woods. Having gone from 11 o'clock till 7 or 8 in the evening without grain, he died. I shall try to get another, but I shall replace him with difficulty.

When you read this letter, I pray our Lord will make you understand it in the sense He desires for His greatest glory and my children's salvation. "To sacrifice you to the savages, a new pardon from your family would be necessary." No, Monseigneur, they have given me to God entirely, and for

16), but the transfers were not recognized by the government. The Attorney General had ruled on September 20, 1833, that the lands reserved to the Indians were still under the original title, that the Indian occupants could not convey them to individuals, and that no valid cession could be made by them except to the United States. *Opinions of the Attorney General of the United States,* 1789-1841, p. 1402.

[18]On June 25, Bruté wrote to Commissioner Carey A. Harris, pleading for justice to the Indians and recounting the labors of Petit and his predecessors among the Indians. Bruté's letter was forwarded by John Law in a note of June 27, lauding the mission and pointing out that it had been carried on at the expense of the Bishop, the annual allowance of $300 appropriated by the government for the civilization of the Indiana Indians on April 19, 1836, having been paid only once (*ante,* p. 22). Harris answered Law on August 2, 1838: "The information, that has reached this office from its agents shows that M. Deseille exerted himself on several occasions to dissuade the Indians from removing, as measures then and now believed to be for their benefit, and more recent advices impute similar proceedings to his successor [Father Benjamin Petit]. For this reason, and for that also of their probably speedy emigration, it is deemed improper to continue the allowance from the civilization fund." "Documents," *Mid-America,* XV, 189-91.

them as for me it does not matter whether I am here or there. They would not understand why I should abandon my children thus, and if they read of this mission's destruction and the Christians' exile in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi,*[19] each will ask with astonishment: "Just where has their priest gone? Why are there no priests with them?" That would be unusual, Monseigneur, in the annals of missions; the Church has always given a consoler for the sufferings of her children. You shall decide, Monseigneur, but I must tell you what is in my heart: there it is. Let it all be arranged, rectified, or changed by my Bishop's hand, which for me is God's hand.

Your benediction, Monseigneur, on us all, your Indians and your priest, respectful and submissive in Jesus Christ and Mary,

B. Petit, Ptre. Mre.

In the last letter I received from France I was informed of Mlle. Camille's vows and F. M. Villeneuve's marriage to a Demoiselle Pauline du Modage: I think this will be a good Christian household.

My respects to M. de la Hailandière, if it is not too presumptuous to give you commissions, Monseigneur, as well as to the other gentlemen. I heard that you have had some new ordinations and that M. de la Hailandière had been to Chicago (I heard this from M. François); Chicago is not very far from South Bend.

M. Mueller is vexed at something I am supposed to have done in his territory. First, I did not do what he was told I did; second, I did not know it was his parish; I shall avoid going there henceforth. It is all about a funeral sermon I preached near Leesburg; I shall apologize fully and peace will be restored.

My mother, brothers, and relatives in France send you their homage, Monseigneur, and their respects to M. de la Hailandière. I would consider going to see you, but affairs are so upset here that in the press of the moment I probably cannot. All is for God.

[19]The organ of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith founded in Lyons, in 1822, as "an endeavor to enlist the sympathy of all Catholics and assist all missions, without regard to situation and nationality." The Society was the chief source of support of the American missions. *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* XI (1911), 461-63.

What of Du Merle? My heart thinks quite often of him; he was my brother in America, Monseigneur. Sometimes I have a mind to write to him, but there is no time.

[Addressed:] To the Right Revd. Bishop Bruté Vincennes (Knox Cty.) Indiana.

PETIT TO ABEL C. PEPPER, July 31, 1838

[IO: Letters Received, Potawatomi—C]

Copy MENOMINIES RESERVE 31. July 1838.

SIR,

Agreeably to your letter dated July 28. 1838.[20] I made communication to the Indians of the information you were kind enough to give me, of the determination of the Executive of the State, to furnish promptly a military force to protect the preemptioners exercising their rights under the laws of congress.—They have expressed unanimously and in the strongest terms their determination of offerring no resistance. I knew that such was their disposition, but I wanted to renew it in communicating to them your letter.—I think now I can give you the assurance, that no disturbance from the Indians need be apprehended, and that the settlers can take possession of their preemptions peaceably, and without the assistance of a Military force, the presence of which would only be fit to create excitement & disorder.—

I take also this opportunity to inform you that Menominie is very sorry for the words which escaped from his lips on the day of the Council; he did not know the import thereof, and is ready to offer you an apology for it, at the next Council.—[21]

I am, Sir, Very respectfully, Your obt. Srvt

B. PETIT

[20]This letter has not been found.

[21]Petit's optimism was not justified. On August 4 he held his last service in the chapel and dismantled it. The next day a settler took possession of house and church, and Petit left for South Bend. On August 7 Pepper held a council with the Indians; they apologized for bad behavior at the last council, and Pepper had a brief hope that peace could be maintained, but there was soon trouble between the Indians and incoming whites, insistent on their pre-emption rights, who settled on almost every quarter section on which the Indians lived. Emigration officials, alarmed at the explosive situation, implored John Tipton, former Indian agent and still influential

To Col. Pepper

I will leave the reserve with Miss Campau this very week.—

Petit to John Tipton, September 3, 1838

[ISL: Tipton Papers—ALS[22]]

South Bend 3d. 7ber 1838

To the Honourable General Tipton

General I Received yesterday your letter dated 2d 7ber, to which I give to day the answer which you requested me to give you[23] It is not the least of the world in my power to satisfy those whom you call *the dissentients,* and to harmonise the whole matter, because it is not let to my choice to go, or not to go West. I am under the dependance of my Bishop and at his disposal, as much *at least* as any soldier of your troops is at

with the Indians, to lend his help in persuading them to move. On August 11 he attended a council near Plymouth, but was unable to break down the opposition of the chiefs. Between August 15 and 20 a settler's cabin was damaged and ten or twelve Indian homes were burned. Citizens of Marshall County and Colonel Pepper urged Governor Wallace to send an armed force to prevent violence. He visited the reserve, and on August 27 authorized Tipton to enroll one hundred volunteers. Three days later Tipton had assembled his forces and stationed them in five detachments surrounding the chapel at some distance. The Indians, in council with Colonel Pepper, were taken by surprise and were not allowed to leave or separate. Another council was held next day, at which Menominee, Black Wolf, and Peepenawah still declined removing. These chiefs and one other, probably Notawkah, were placed under guard in the chapel. Journal, *post,* p. 128; George W. Ewing to Tipton, August 8, 1838, Abel C. Pepper to Tipton, August 8, 1838, William Polke to Tipton, August 8, 1838, in Tipton Papers; Governor Wallace's annual message, December 4, 1838, and his correspondence with Tipton and Pepper, August 26-31, 1838, in Indiana *Senate Journal,* 1838-39, pp. 713-18; Tipton to Wallace, September 18, 1838, *ibid.,* p. 728; Tipton's General Order, August 29, 1838, in Logansport *Herald,* November 8, 1838, p. 2, c. 4; Logansport *Telegraph,* September 15, 1838, p. 2, c. 1.

[22]Printed in Indiana *Senate Journal,* 1838-39, pp. 722-23.

[23]An attack of fever had kept Petit at South Bend until this time. Tipton, knowing the young priest's great influence with Menominee and the other Catholic Indians, and anxious to execute the removal without violence, appealed to him by letter to persuade "the dissentients" to go peaceably. Indiana *Senate Journal,* 1838-39, p. 722. He repeated the promise of the government to defray expenses of the emigration, give each Indian a half section of land, and provide for their support for one year. As a further inducement to secure Petit's aid, he promised to recommend to the President that funds be provided for a chapel and house for Petit or any other priest who might accompany the Indians. Petit drafted a scathing answer (the

your disposal; I wrote to him for the subject of being allowed to follow the Indians, in the case, that most of them would be willing to emigrate; I received a full denial of my request; of course I must not think any more of going West.

[Was I at liberty to go or not to go, though I had no personal objection, in the case the indians would be willing to go, it would be repugnant and hard to me to associate in any way to the unaccountable measures lately taken for the removal of the Indians. You had right perhaps, if duly authorised, to take possession of the land, but to make from free men slaves, no man can take upon himself to do so in this free country. Those who wish to move must be *moved,* those who want to remain must be left to themselves. Col. Pepper, in the name of the president, spoke several times in that way, and he said that by the 5th of August those who want to remain, would be submitted to the law of the country. Of course it is against men under the protection of the law, that you act in such a dictatorial manner; it is impossible for me, and for many to conceive how such events may take place in this country of liberty. I have consecrated my whole life, my whole powers to the good of my neighbours, but as to associate to any violence against them, even if it were at my own disposal, I cannot find in me strength enough to do so. May God protect them, and me, against the numerous misrepresentations which are made, both of them and of me.]

I am sorry, General, not to be able to comply any further with your wishes.

your most obedient Servant

B: Petit ptre Mre.

draft is in the Chancery Office, Indianapolis), but omitted in the letter that he sent the paragraph printed here in brackets. Tipton meanwhile proceeded as expeditiously as possible with his ugly task. By the evening of September 2 over seven hundred Indians had been rounded up by the soldiers and enrolled. On the morning of September 4 the encampment was leveled and the march began, with rebellious chiefs "immured" in a sort of cage that followed the flag. Logansport *Herald,* October 25, 1838. For accounts of the rounding up of the Indians, see Indiana *Senate Journal,* 1838-39, pp. 718 ff.; Tipton to Carey A. Harris, September 2 and 5, 1838, photostats in Tipton Papers; McDonald, *History of Marshall County,* I, 24-25, 30-33. The emigrating party by this time numbered 859. It was estimated that only 150 Potawatomi were left in Indiana. Abel C. Pepper to Carey A. Harris, September 6, 1838, photostat in Tipton Papers.

Petit to William Polke, September 8, 1838

[IO: Letters Received, Potawatomi—C]

Logansport, 8th Sept. 1838

Sir:

I have on this day received permission of the Right Reverend Bishop to accompany the Indian Emigration West;[24] on condition of you guaranteeing the performing the propositions contained in the letter of Gen. J. Tipton addressed to me on the 2nd instant.

I am, Sir, your most Respectful servant,

B. Petit.

Petit to His Family, September 14, 1838

[Translated from *Annales,* XI (1838-39), No. LXV, 393-96]

One morning[25] . . . I said Mass. Then my dear church was stripped of all its ornaments, and at the moment of my departure I called all my children together. I spoke to them one more time; I wept; my listeners sobbed. It was heart-rending. We, the dying mission, prayed for the success of other missions, and we sang with one accord:

In thy protection do we trust,
O Virgin, meek and mild.

The voice which intoned was stifled by sobs, and only a few were able to finish. I left. It is sad, I assure you, for a missionary to see such a young and vigorous work expire in his arms. A few days afterward I learned that the Indians, despite their peaceable disposition, had been surprised and

[24]See Petit to his family, *post,* p. 92, and Journal, *post,* p. 129. Said the Logansport *Telegraph* of September 8, 1838: "The Rev. Mr. Petit, who has been with them for some time past and who has already succeeded in teaching them some of the arts of civilization by which their condition has been much improved, will accompany them. This gentleman, who has deservedly gained their esteem, and whose remaining was one of the principal obstacles to their removing, has, by consenting to go, given them additional proofs of his regard for their welfare, and he has also rendered himself worthy of the notice of the government. There is already a visible change in the feelings of the Indians, and many who were averse to going west now express a willingness to go."

[25]August 4. See Petit's Journal, *post,* p. 128.

taken prisoners of war. The military force, pretending to hold a council, assembled them and seized eight hundred. At the same time the government invited me to accompany them to the country destined for them, separation from their priest being one of the reasons which kept the Indians from consenting to their exile. I replied that, being under my Bishop's orders, I could not do anything without his permission. He had refused, in order to avoid all suspicion of the ecclesiastical authority's connivance with the civil power's rigorous measures.

Providence wonderfully orders all things. It willed that Monseigneur should have to consecrate the Logansport church.[26] The ceremony was fixed for September 9, and on the 7th the Indians were to camp a quarter of a league from Logansport on their road to exile. One morning, September 5, Monseigneur, returning from Chicago, entered my room at South Bend: "My son, in an hour we depart for Logansport." And he lavished all the consolations in the soul of a father upon me. I was as calm as a man who is stilled by a crushing burden. We departed.

We learned that the Indians on the way, with bayonets prodding their backs,[27] had a large number of sick in their ranks—that several, crammed into baggage wagons, had al-

[26]A small stone church on Duret Street, built through the efforts of Father François. It remained in use until 1860. Thomas B. Helm, *History of Cass County Indiana* (Chicago, 1886), p. 436; Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, p. 365.

[27]The Logansport *Telegraph* (September 8, 1838, p. 2, c. 1) denied this. "It has been reported that the Indians were maltreated on their journey—that they were forced to make long marches when it was not necessary—that they were not suffered to get water on the road—and that the order of Gen. Tipton was to drive them along at the point of the bayonet, if necessary.—These reports, we believe are all unfounded, as they have been contradicted by those who were present, and in whose word we can place implicit confidence." According to the Journal of the emigration there was a scarcity of water in the country, and the watering places determined the length of the marches. "Journal of the Emigrating Party of Pottawattomie Indians, 1838," *Indiana Magazine of History,* XXI (1925), 317-18. The "Journal" as printed in the *Magazine,* is attributed to William Polke, although the entries to and including September 16 were made by Tipton. See Indiana *Senate Journal,* 1838-39, p. 727.

ready died of heat and thirst.[28] These pieces of news were like so many swords piercing my heart.

Finally, on the morning of the 7th, Monseigneur gave me permission to follow the emigrants, on condition that I return at the first order, or at the moment another missionary should come to replace me. I went to look after my children. I did not think at first that I could enter the camp without authorization. They all came out, approaching me to receive my blessing. The Americans, drawn up in a line, showed the greatest astonishment. "This man," said the General,[29] "has more power here than I." I was permitted to come and go everywhere. Smiles reappeared amidst the desolation of exile —once more the family was together.

Sunday, September 9, Monseigneur consecrated the Logansport church. I officiated at the camp. In the afternoon Monseigneur came there and confirmed about twenty of my good savages.[30] That day was a wonderful triumph for the

[28]On Sunday, September 9, physicians visited the emigrating party in camp near Logansport and found about 300 of the 850 sick. A "kind of Medical hospital" was erected, and all but 21, sick and attendants, took up the march on the tenth. Five children had died by the evening of September 9. "Journal," *Indiana Magazine of History,* XXI, 317-18.

[29]Probably General Tipton. Tipton later wrote to Wallace that Petit had "produced a very favorable change in the morals and industry of the Indians," and that his untiring zeal in the cause of civilization would be "eminently beneficial" to the Potawatomi in their new home. Indiana *Senate Journal,* 1838-39, p. 727.

[30]Bruté sent a report of the event to the *Annales* which is quoted in Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur* (pp. 365-66): "In the afternoon I myself visited the good Indians. A crowd of people composed of Catholics and Protestants from the city, was in attendance and no one grew tired of admiring the spirit of recollection and resignation of those true Christians. As I approached, Mr. Petit came first and knelt for the blessing, then all received it kneeling on the road that led to the tent. Following this ceremony they took their places very orderly and some with books and others by heart, sang Vespers in the Ottawa language. I recited the Oration and delivered a sermon which a young interpreter translated with great intelligence and piety. Then they intoned the *Veni Creator* in Ottawa and after the first verse I proceeded to administer the sacrament of Confirmation. The confirmed numbered twenty. How much did we regret that so many were deprived of the same grace owing to their early departure. I closed the services by giving Benediction. Then whilst we recited the rosary in common I accompanied Mr. Petit into the tents of the sick, where one received Extreme Unction and another received Baptism; both died that night."

Catholic Faith: the whole town was in camp, astonished at the Indians and edified by their piety. The American newspapers mentioned it, and everywhere people read with emotion of the wonderful sight of this congregation assembled on mats before an improvised altar under a great tree.

The next day I left to get my things at South Bend, and here I am today making the journey of six hundred miles to the other side of the Mississippi to establish a more durable mission among the savages, whom I am afterwards to leave in the hands of the Jesuit fathers. Pray much that, in this remote quest, the good God will sustain me and not allow me to stumble.

Petit to John Tipton, September 17, 1838

[Indiana *Senate Journal,* 1838-39, p. 728]

Danville, *17th Sept.* 1838.

To his Honor, General John Tipton:

General—According to our arrangements, I joined the party of the Pottawattamies emigrating west of the Mississippi, to accompany them to their new homes. I inform you anew to day that I accede to your proposals.

Your respectful and humble servant,

B. Petit.

Petit to Bishop Rosati, September 19, 1838

[Catholic Historical Society of Indiana, *Bulletin No. 2,* p. 7 (December, 1927)[31]]

Sanduskye Camp Near Danville
19 7bre, 1838

Monseigneur:

Last year Monseigneur Bruté sent me to the Pottowatomie Indians to replace Monsieur De Seilles whose death left them orphans; that mission, in full vigor and growth was about to be destroyed in Indiana by the policy of the government which seeks to unite all the Indians on the other side of the Mississippi.

[31]The original of this letter is in the Diocesan Archives, St. Louis, Missouri.

As a great many of these very fervent and pious Christians were going to emigrate at the same time, Monseigneur Bruté permitted me to accompany them to their new settlement so that I may re-establish their church and their mission; as Vicar-General of your Diocese, he has given me temporarily the faculties and jurisdiction which are necessary; today, Monseigneur, I am asking Your Lordship to confirm these faculties, if you find it convenient.[32]

An emigrant mission, complete in every way, (like a nucleus, entirely ready for the attachment of great hopes of the future) is worthy of the attention of Your Lordship and of those Jesuit Fathers who are especially charged with the Indian Missions.

I am not coming to establish a mission in the midst of the good Indians for myself, although I am attached to them with all the affection of my priestly heart (they are my first mission); I am coming solely to hold this mission together (so that these precious souls may not be lost) until I shall be able to place in your hands or in the hands of the Society of Jesus this infant mission to which I would gladly consecrate my life, if obedience, which is a happiness for a priest, did not call me for another work on the mission for which, indeed I have a far less natural inclination.

The limit fixed by my bishop for my return is next March. Before that time, Monseigneur, I beg you by all that God knows of the simplicity and the sincere piety, of the fervor and the zeal and the good will in the hearts of your new subjects to arrange to send us a priest so that these Christians, so eager for the reception of the Sacraments which so many others neglect, may not die of exhaustion, like abandoned children, deprived of the heavenly nourishment in which their souls find so many delights.

Your Lordship knows so much better than I can tell you how important it is for the subsequent development of the In-

[32]The diocese of St. Louis, of which Joseph Rosati was Bishop, extended from the southern bounds of Arkansas to a line drawn northward from Fort Massac, Illinois, near Cairo, to the southern bounds of Canada, thence westward to the Rocky Mountains, following them southward to the latitude of the southern boundary of Arkansas and eastward. Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis,* I, 2.

dian missions not to let them disperse and perish by the abandonment of that christianity fully developed which Providence sends today into the midst of the nearby Indians.

Our trip is a harsh experience; we have much sickness;[33] two of the Indians were buried today. Monseigneur, please pray God to sustain us and to bless the christian resignation of these good Indians deprived by force of their fatherland and of all their notions of blessing, the Faith excepted.

Accept, Monseigneur, the assurance of profound respect and of the humble submission in Jesus Christ.

Of your most respectful servant

B. Petit
ptre. mre.

P. S. The migration will likely cross the Mississippi at Quincy and our destination is the Osage River.

Petit to Father François, September 23, 1838

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA[34]]

32 miles west of Danville[35] 23 September, 1838

Monsieur and dear friend,

After these last few days of traveling I am indeed glad to have this opportunity of informing you of everything concerning us since I joined the emigration at Danville.

[33]The physicians attending the sick reported on September 18 that there were 67 sick, 47 of whom suffered from intermittent fever, and that out of the whole number 8 appeared dangerously ill. This was an improvement from the thirteenth, when 106 cases of sickness had been recorded. "The whole country through which we pass appears to be afflicted—," reads the "Journal" entry for September 16; "every town, village, and hamlet has its invalids. . . . It is worthy of remark, perhaps, that such a season for sickness in this country is almost unparalleled. In the little town, adjoining which we are encamped, containing a population of from eight hundred to a thousand four persons died yesterday." By the evening of the nineteenth, seventeen Indians were reported to have died since the emigration began. "Journal," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXI, 316-21.

[34]The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

[35]According to the "Journal," the party camped the night of September 22 at Sidoris' Grove, having traveled forty-four miles since leaving Danville. The night of the twenty-third was spent at Pyatt's Point on the Sangamon River, fifteen miles further on. *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXI, 321-28.

A dozen have died,[36] among them several Indians who were baptized *in articulo mortis;* exterior alleviation was given to the others, almost the entire band. Today we were better treated because of a kind of authority given me which I accepted and am using for their good.

It is indeed far from my intention to find anything to regret in Monseigneur's decision regarding me; I think I am where I should be.

From time to time I can say Holy Mass; soon I shall have my tent all to myself and even be able to hear confession.

When we encamp I am entrusted with the sick and assigned to the doctor as interpreter.[37] On the march I have general supervision over all and decide upon whatever can be alleviating.

If you can obtain a few days from Monseigneur to visit Pokagon, it would be the most deserving of your missions. I fear they are bewildered; you would find Mousse[38] there. Tell him or write to him that I obtained permission to leave his baggage at Danville, but his son did not know where he was, and the heavy expenses of transportation made us decide that the cost would exceed the value of the contents. He will be paid for his oxen at the Mississippi; I shall send him the money.

Respects to everyone. Enclose this letter to Monseigneur, if you please. I have seen nothing of M. Buteaux, to whom I wanted to hand it.

I have no more time. Adieu; pray for me.

Your brother and servant in Jesus Christ,

B. Petit
Ptre. Mre.

[36]The "Journal" records twelve deaths from the seventeenth to the evening of the twenty-third, bringing to twenty-four the total number of deaths since the beginning of the emigration. *Indiana Magazine of History,* XXI, 321-23.

[37]Petit was appointed an interpreter for the emigration on September 22, and received $245 for his services. See his Journal, *post,* p. 131.

[38]Alexander Mousse, a Catholic half-breed, had married a daughter of Pokagon. He acted as an interpreter for Father Stephen Badin and was with Father Deseille at his death. Buechner, *The Pokagons,* p. 298, and note.

[Addressed:] To the Revd. Mr. François Pastor of the Catholic Congregation at Logansport (Ina.)

[Endorsed by Father François:] M. Petit having had an opportunity to have this letter delivered to me, he asks me to send it Your Reverence. My situation is very variable, sometimes good, sometimes bad. Each evening I have had to journey all I could; I am falling ill again. . . ."

[Postmarked, François to Bruté, September 30, 1838.]

Petit to Bishop Bruté, November 13, 1838

[Translated from *Annales,* XI (1838-39), No. LXV, 400-8]

Osage River, Indian Country,
November 13, 1838

Monseigneur,

According to the promise which you exacted from me at Logansport when I received your parting benediction, I have now to give Your Reverence an account of our long and painful journey.

The day you left for Bardstown, where the consecration of a new bishop for our America called you,[39] I started for South Bend, where I had to get the little baggage I needed. While I was awaiting the public stage at the hotel, a traveler came up to me and presented me with a pencil sketch which seemed to me a good one and which represented the confirmation ceremony at the camp, the altar at the foot of the great tree, the linen tapestries, Monseigneur, M. Mueller and me, our young interpreter, and all the Indians, with their grave, pious solemn demeanor. I was asked several questions about the Indians' language, habits, and traditions.

I departed. I arrived at South Bend on the 11th [September], about noon. At once I began preparations for traveling, and I devoted part of the evening to hearing the confessions of several sick people who had asked for me—among them was the old mother of Black Wolf (Makkahtahmoway), one of the chiefs. The poor woman had been so much frightened

[39]Father Richard P. Miles was consecrated first Bishop of Nashville in the Cathedral of Bardstown, Kentucky, on September 16, 1838. Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur,* p. 366.

by a discharge of musketry ordered by General Tipton when he arrested the savages—who were in council—that she buried herself in the woods and remained hidden there for six days without taking nourishment. Finally she found a dead pheasant and ate it. She had received a terrible wound in her foot and could no longer walk. Fortunately a savage who was looking for his horses, having noticed something moving in the bushes, ran in that direction and found the poor fugitive. He put her on his horse and transported her safely to a Frenchman's house near South Bend, where I heard her confession.

The next morning I started out again for Logansport. I intended to rejoin the emigrants at Lafayette at least, but they marched so quickly that I did not see my Indians again until Danville.

They were walking on the right bank of the river,[40] and the line of wagons continued on the left. I tried several times to rent a private carriage to take my baggage and me to Danville—this was in vain. Finally I had to go as far as Perrysville, where, leaving my luggage behind, I took advantage of the kindness of a Catholic, M. Young, who offered me one of his horses and accompanied me to Danville with some other persons who were drawn by curiosity.

It was Sunday, September 16. I had only just arrived when a colonel,[41] seeking a favorable place to encamp, appeared. Soon afterward I saw my poor Christians, under a burning noonday sun, amidst clouds of dust, marching in a line, surrounded by soldiers who were hurrying their steps. Next came the baggage wagons, in which numerous invalids, children, and women, too weak to walk, were crammed. They encamped half a mile from the town, and in a short while I went among them.

I found the camp just as you saw it, Monseigneur, at Logansport—a scene of desolation, with sick and dying people

[40]The Wabash. The expedition crossed the river at Williamsport on the fifteenth. Article from Terre Haute *Courier* reprinted in Niles' *National Register*, October 6, 1838, No. 6, p. 88, c. 1-2.

[41]Perhaps Colonel J. R. M. Bryant, Tipton's aide-de-camp. Tipton to Governor Wallace, September 18, 1838, in Indiana *Senate Journal*, 1838-39, pp. 727-30.

on all sides. Nearly all the children, weakened by the heat, had fallen into a state of complete languor and depression. I baptized several who were newly born—happy Christians, who with their first step passed from earthly exile to the heavenly sojourn.

The General, to whom I introduced myself, expressed his satisfaction at seeing me, and, with a condescension I did not expect, he arose from his chair, which was the only one there, and offered it to me. That night was the first I passed in a tent.

Early the next morning they heaped the Indians into the baggage wagons, and everybody mounted. At our departure Judge Polke, chief conductor, came to present me with a horse which the government had procured from an Indian for my use along the way. At the same time the Indian approached me and said: "My father, I give it to you, saddled and bridled."

We departed for the next encampment, where several days' rest was granted us. On my word the six chiefs[42] who had till now been treated as prisoners of war were released and given the same kind of freedom which the rest of the tribe enjoyed.

The order of march[43] was as follows: the United States flag, carried by a dragoon; then one of the principal officers, next the staff baggage carts, then the carriage, which during the whole trip was kept for the use of the Indian chiefs; then one or two chiefs on horseback led a line of 250 or 300 horses ridden by men, women, children in single file, after the manner of savages. On the flanks of the line at equal distance from each other were the dragoons and volunteers, hastening the stragglers, often with severe gestures and bitter words. After this cavalry came a file of forty baggage wagons filled with luggage and Indians. The sick were lying in them, rudely jolted, under a canvas which, far from protecting them from the dust and heat, only deprived them of air, for they were as if buried under this burning canopy—several died thus.

[42]See *ante*, p. 89n.

[43]The procession, according to the Delphi *Oracle* (September 15, 1838), was nearly three miles long.

We camped only six miles from Danville. There I had for two successive days[44] the happiness of celebrating Holy Mass among my good savage children. I administered to several who were dying and baptized a few more infants, and, when we quitted this camp two days later, we left behind six graves in the shadow of the cross. The General dismissed his little army there and himself departed from us[45]—he had announced his intention of doing so shortly after my coming.

We soon found ourselves on the grand prairies of Illinois, under a burning sun and without shade from one camp to another. They are as vast as the ocean, and the eye seeks in vain for a tree. Not a drop of water can be found there—it was a veritable torture for our poor sick, some of whom died each day from weakness and fatigue.

Soon we began evening prayers together again, and the Americans, attracted by curiosity, were astonished to find so much piety in the midst of so many trials. Our evening exercises consisted of a chapter of the catechism, prayer, and the hymn,

"In thy protection do we trust,
O Virgin, meek and mild,"

which I intoned in Indian and which was repeated by the whole audience with a vigor which these new Christians bring to all their religious acts.

Often throughout the entire night, around a blazing fire, before a tent in which a solitary candle burned, fifteen or twenty Indians would sing hymns and tell their beads. One of their friends who had died was laid out in the tent; they performed the last religious rites for him in this way. The next morning the grave would be dug; the family, sad but tearless, stayed after the general departure; the priest, attired in his stole, recited prayers, blessed the grave, and cast the first shovelful of earth on the rude coffin; the pit was filled and a

[44]The expedition reached Sandusky Point, six miles beyond Danville, on September 17, and remained there until the twentieth. "Journal," *Indiana Magazine of History,* XXI, 321.

[45]Tipton returned to Logansport on the twentieth, leaving fifteen of his volunteers behind at Polke's request to keep order and guard the camp at night. *Ibid.,* XXI, 321; Tipton to Governor Wallace, September 18, 1838, in Indiana *Senate Journal,* 1838-39, pp. 727-30.

little cross placed there. The curious inhabitants, for whom everything in the depths of these deserts is a spectacle, moved, despite their prejudices, by these poor yet imposing solemnities of the dead, would end by raising their hats, and the smile of scorn would turn to a sort of grave and religious astonishment.

Sunday mornings, when the lack of good water (more than once our horses refused to drink water which we had left) or some other motive forced us to continue the march, I was granted a two hours' delay.[46] The Indians would attend Holy Sacrifice, during which they astonished the ears of the spectators by singing hymns, some of which—for me at least—had a sweet harmony indeed. I preached briefly on the Gospel of the day, recommended that they tell their beads along the way—then I folded up my chapel, the tents were dismantled, and everybody mounted. Ordinarily we did not travel on Sunday—the Mass was then preceded by the morning prayer and the catechism, followed by the rosary. In the afternoon they would again assemble for the catechism. Vespers were sung in Indian, the rosary followed, then the evening prayer and a short sermon, which once or twice I allowed myself to pronounce without an interpreter—to the great delight of my listeners.

I could not help feeling elated on the way at the attentions of the Catholics. When we camped near a town where some lived, they would come to see me at our encampment, invite me to breakfast before our departure the next day, and indeed do all in their power to show their joy at seeing a priest. A few days' journey from the Illinois River I was stricken with fever. An old Frenchman came to the camp and made me promise, by the force of his pleading, to take a few days' rest at his home. The next morning he introduced his wife. He had brought his carriage to take me away, but the fear of again

[46]On October 9, the chiefs requested that on Sundays the party remain in camp so that devotional exercises could be held. This was complied with on the three succeeding Sundays. On Sunday, November 4, provisions being scarce and the journey being so nearly completed, the party moved on after a two-hour devotional period. "Journal," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXI, 327-34.

finding myself behind the emigration and the difficulties of rejoining it made me reply with a definite refusal.[47] We had hardly arrived at Naples, where we crossed the Illinois, than a Protestant, married to a French Catholic woman from Vincennes, learning that a sick priest was among the emigrants stationed there for two days, came to offer me his house.[48] I accepted, and, thanks to the care lavished on me, my fever was cut short.

I took the public stage at Naples and started in advance for Quincy in order to complete my cure by a few days' rest in that town. There I met a German priest, M. Brickwedde, and a German congregation, who received me with a welcome hard to imagine.[49] I was also well greeted by some American Catholics and by several of the town's richest Protestants, who offered me their hospitality.[50]

When the Indians arrived at Quincy, the inhabitants, who compared this emigration with previous ones, could not help expressing their surprise at the modesty of our Christians, their calmness, and their general demeanor. A Catholic lady, accompanied by a Protestant friend, made the sign of the cross, symbolizing religious fraternity. Immediately the Indian women came up to shake their hands cordially; the savages never fail to do this when they encounter Catholics. The Protestant lady wanted to do as much and tried the sign of the cross, but, betrayed by her lack of practice, she could not succeed. At once an Indian, who knew some English, went up to her and said, "You nothing." It was true.

One day Judge Polke, our principal officer, introduced one of his friends, a Baptist minister. I was in my tent, surrounded as usual by Indians. He wanted to shake hands with

[47]See Petit's Journal, *post,* p. 129.

[48]A. M. Craft. *Post,* p. 129.

[49]Father Augustus Florentius Brickwedde was born in Hanover in 1805, and ordained a priest in the Cathedral of Hildesheim, September 20, 1830. He came to St. Louis in 1837, having heard of the great need for missionaries among the German colonists in America. Bishop Rosati sent him to Quincy to found a German parish—said to be the first national parish in the Mississippi Valley—where he remained until 1849. Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis,* I, 615-25.

[50]See Petit's Journal, *post,* p. 130.

the Indians, and I told them to approach—that he called himself their friend. Then, as if he must make a sensation, this minister, with that commanding enthusiasm in which his kind are never lacking, cried: "Ah, they are bone of my bone, flesh of my flesh! I truly feel here [putting his hand on his heart] that I love humankind. Young man, may God bless your labors among them—make them better than they are." When he had gone, I told my Indians that he was a Protestant minister. At this all who had shaken hands with him replied with a grimace.

One evening I was waiting in my tent for evening-prayer time when two young men introduced themselves to me—they were compatriots recently arrived from France, and by the steamboat captain's inadvertence they had been carried to Independence instead of New Orleans. They were now proceeding to their destination. These gentlemen spoke and understood very little English; this made their position difficult in this distant land. While passing along the road, they had seen our tents and fires. "Perhaps it is a fair," they had said to each other, and, curious as all Frenchmen, they had come to see. Then, very much surprised to hear some halfbreeds conversing in French, they had spoken to them, and, learning there was a French priest here, they had themselves brought to me. I greeted them as well as possible. We spoke of our country; I invited them to supper, following which they attended public prayer with much edification. They went a little way off to retire. They were somewhat frightened by the state of the countryside, which was all in arms. The majority of the Protestants in the country had resolved to exterminate or at least expel certain sectarians called Mormons, who refused to submit to the tax and the public charges.[51]

[51]As early as 1831 the Mormons began establishing themselves in Jackson County, Missouri. Driven out in 1833, they set up their headquarters in Caldwell County, and in 1837 founded a town called Far West. Another settlement was made in Daviess County. On August 6, 1838, there was an election-day clash between Mormons and citizens in Daviess County. After a series of such incidents the Mormons petitioned Governor Lilburn W. Boggs for protection, while the Missourians petitioned for their ejection from the state. On September 15 militia were sent to the scene, suppressing hostilities in Daviess County, but disorder had spread into Carroll County,

About half a mile from our camp my two Frenchmen came to the edge of a prairie fire and saw a great number of men beating the ground with sticks and running to and fro amidst the flames to keep the fire from the fences of their fields. They thought they were witnessing a frightful battle, and they returned to our camp to ask if there was any safety for them. I reassured them, explained what had frightened them, and they left, still fearing that they would be taken for Mormon spies, among whom there were, they said, many French.

As for us, the next day we heard artillery and rifle shots. We saw armed troops coming to formation from every direction, and about sixty mules—booty taken the day before from the Mormons. We passed quietly through this theater of fanatic battles, although at our arrival a message had come asking that the Indians join the troops who were attacking the Mormons.[52] This request was wisely rejected.

As long as we marched along the left bank of the Mississippi, the heat was excessive, the weather sultry, the water bad. On the opposite bank the temperature was cooler—sometimes becoming even cold—and this change produced happy effects on the health of the Indians. After arriving in Missouri, we

where the Mormons were holding the town of De Witt against a force of two or three hundred. Because of food shortage they surrendered without battle and removed to Far West, arriving on October 12. On October 15 a company of one hundred men organized at Far West, went into Daviess County, plundering and burning the town of Gallatin. On October 26 the militia were again called out, and four days later the Mormons surrendered without battle and agreed to leave Far West within ten days. They were permitted to winter in Caldwell County, but had to leave the state the following spring. They turned eastward to Nauvoo, Illinois, the scene of the next chapter of Mormon history. Rollin J. Britton, "Early Days on Grand River and the Mormon War," *Missouri Historical Review*, XIII (1919), 112-34, 287-310, 388-98; XIV (1920), 89-110, 233-45, 459-73.

[52]The "Journal" dates this incident on October 25: "Sometime after our encampment the Conductor was waited upon by a gentleman, who it appeared had been delegated by the citizens of Richmond (a village near us) to request assistance as they really anticipated an attack from the Mormons tonight. Judge Polke informed the gentleman that such a step on his part would be entirely without the line of his duty." *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXI, 332.

had hardly any sick.[53] The Indians were permitted to hunt on the way, and from the Illinois River almost to the limits of the Indian Territory they destroyed many deer, turkey cocks, and pheasants in a magnificent hunting ground. But we had the misfortune of finding that in the outskirts of the country assigned to them game became scarcer and scarcer, and no woods were seen other than little clusters on the banks of brooks which flowed far from each other in these vast prairies.

At a day's journey from the Osage River Father Hoecken,[54] of the Society of Jesus, came to meet us. He speaks Potawatomi and Kickapoo. He announced his intention of leaving Kickapoo country, where he has resided, to establish himself among my Christians.

Thus, Monseigneur, your aim and mine have been achieved. This young Christendom, in the midst of the anguish of exile and the ravages of epidemic, has received all the aid of religion. The sick have been anointed, the soil which covers the ashes of the dead is consecrated, faith and the practice of religious duties have been maintained, even in their temporal sorrows he whom these poor people call their father has had the consolation of often being able to render assistance. And now, left in the able hands of the Jesuit fathers, they need not regret the violent blow which has torn them from us—from the country, as they say, where their fathers rest—to leave them once more in the hands of the same priests who, more than a century ago, established traditions so favorable to Catholicism in the heart of these tribes. You wished, Monseigneur, only for the glory of God and the salvation of these Christians. I looked for nothing else. Let us hope your wishes will be fulfilled.

[53]October 9 was spent in ferrying the Mississippi. One death is recorded on the eleventh, one on the twenty-eighth, one on November 5, and two on November 6, certainly an indication that the health of the Indians had improved. *Ibid.*, XXI, 327-35.

[54]Father Christian Hoecken was born in Upper Brabant. At this time he was only twenty-eight years old—about the age of Petit. He had aided Father Van Quickenborne in conducting the Kickapoo mission, but despite the good work of the fathers it had not been successful, and he was transferred to the Potawatomi on the Osage River. He died in 1851 on a journey to the Far West. *Ante*, pp. 50-51n. Rothensteiner, *History of the Archiocese of St. Louis*, I, 647, 683, 687-88.

Having left on September 4, we arrived November 4. The number of Indians at our departure was about 800. Some escaped, and about 30[55] died—I do not think their number exceeded 650 at their arrival.

Awaiting Your Reverence's order, which will separate me from my children, I am, Monseigneur, with the deepest respect,

Your Reverence's priest and son in Jesus and Mary,

B. Petit

Petit to John Tipton, November 26, 1838

[ISL: Tipton Papers—photostat of ALS[56]]

Potawatomi creek, Indian Country
26th 9ber 1838

To his honour General J. Tipton member of the senate of U. S.

General, Owing to the encouragement you gave me, when I was honoured with taking leave from your honour, I dare to day take the liberty of reminding you of the engagements you have taken towards me as a catholic missionary in behalf of the Governement of U. S.[57] It is not that I think you may have forgotten them, but I know it is very useful for us to call on your Credit, for otherwise we cannot look for an immediate execution of these engagements, operations, when left to themselves, going on very slow in the department of Indian affairs. It would then be extremely agreable to us, if you would urge the execution in regard to building a church and a dwelling house for the Priest.

Now, I must also apply to you that you may be kind to recommend to the governement the propriety of an allocation made for the support of the catholic missionary from the Education fund—similar allocations are made for other denominations, and we are here in fuller operation than any one of them which I know of—how proper is that allocation cannot be matter of doubt! in this new country, a man can live

[55]The total number of deaths recorded in the "Journal" is 43. *Indiana Magazine of History,* XXI, 317-35.

[56]The original of this letter is in the Indian Office, Letters Received, Schools.

[57]See *ante,* pp. 88-89n.

only by farming but a catholic missionary cannot be a farmer; and whilst his neighbour the protestant minister will work, six days of the week, to the improvements of his farm and to the support of his family; the Priest will consecrate every moment of every day to the instruction of his flock, to visiting the sick, or to prepare himself by studying, reading and learning. If of course the catholic priest be not supported by his flock, and who could say that these poor Indians are able to support him, he must necessarily or live on nothing, or give up. Of the propriety of such an allocation, it is not necessary to speak any more, everyone understands it.

An allocation of 300 dollars per annum, had been made in behalf of the missionary on Yellow river; when Bishop Bruté applied to the department that the sum would be paid, It was answered that I had been reported as opposing the action of the Government, and that consequently nothing should be allowed to me;[58] now, if you think, that I can get that money; for you know well, from the facts, that, in all that, I have been heavily misrepresented; be kind to do for me what you can; it is indeed nothing but justice, to repay me my expenses of the last year, during which I was supported by Bishop Bruté and myself, whilst in the meanwhile funds were appropriated for my support. My conduct must make you know, what were all these accusations brought against me.

I am happy to inform you, General, that I met here a Father Jesuit[59] sent by the society, who is specially intrusted with the care of these indian missions; he will make his residence amongst these Indians; the society has the intention to put up a school, and to spare nothing for the improvement of these good Indians; for any person who is a little acquainted with the Jesuits, it is no doubt that they will be successful in their mission here, as well as any where else; their preceding success in anything of that kind are a sure guarantee for the future. It is in their hands that I will commit, with confidence these Christians of whom God called me to be the pastor for a while; and it is to them and for them as my successors that I claim the execution of the Government's engagements,

[58] *Ante*, p. 85n.
[59] Father Hoecken.

and the allocation for the support of the priest. the promising prospect of this mission deserves to be patronized by the Government.—If by any chance you could get the 300 dollars allocated for the mission on Yellow river, be kind [enough to] direct them to Bishop Bruté, Vincennes.

Hoping that you will patronize these our just claims,[60] I am General, of your honour, and with a high consideration The humble servant

B: Petit
p^tre m^re

Petit to Bishop Bruté, November 26, 1838

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA[61]]

Osage River, 26 November, 1838

Monseigneur,

I am sending you herewith a kind of detailed account of our emigration; if, as you told me, you deem it proper to send it to *Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*,[62] correct, cut,

[60]Tipton forwarded Petit's letter to T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, on December 29, and wrote: "I know not what grounds there may have been to Justify the opinion given to your Dept in 1836 that he Mr P oppose the removal of the Indians from Ia. [Petit was not at the mission in 1836; it was Father Deseille.] I am hapy to inform you that *his conduct at the time and since I was engaged in the Emigration* has been such as to convince every one that he entered heartily into the removal and was very usefull in reconcileing the Indians and in adminestering to the sick & afflicted on thier Journey west. allow me therefore to urge the subject on the consideration of the Dept . . . In relation to the civilization fund . . . I suggest the propriety and the Justice of allowing four hundred dollars pr anum . . . to be expended under the direction of the Revnd Bishop Brute of Vincennes." Tipton Papers. The Secretary of War, to whom the matter was submitted, allowed $300 to be expended by Bruté for the Potawatomi mission, the expense of erecting a house and a chapel to be defrayed from the amount. Six hundred dollars was allowed by Congress for the building of new cabins in compensation for those burned at the village on the Yellow River. John Tipton to Petit, January 25, 1839, and T. Hartley Crawford to Tipton, March 30, 1839, Tipton Papers. *Ante*, p. 88n.

[61]The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

[62]Petit's letters of November 13 (*ante*, pp. 97-106) and 26 were both entrusted to Polke for delivery. The first was published in the *Annales* as suggested. Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 131.

or expand it as you please: for example, supply a brief explanation of the events which led up to it, a brief description of the confirmation at the camp[63] (coming from you, this would make a good introduction), then a note on the Mormons, and finally whatever you think appropriate.

Among the blessings which the good Lord granted me during the journey (I must tell you everything) were some tests of endurance: I was taken with fever twice,[64] and I had an inflammation of one eye which for more than a month kept me from my breviary and made the celebration of the Holy mysteries extremely painful and difficult. This inflammation of the eyes is an almost inevitable result of the dust, sun, and wind in the prairies; several Indians even suffered from it. Then toward the end I came to a kind of exhaustion—without strength, without vigor. Today, since our arrival, I have been afflicted with fever again, and I cannot get rid of it, although I have left my tent for a house[65] somewhat better, but even here one is occasionally too much exposed to the wind. The savages are going to build a hut for the Father[66] and me, near the temporary church they have just erected;[67] it will be more comfortable. I was so feverish that my body was covered with a kind of boil as large as one's thumb and in a state of infection which tired me so much that I was not comfortable in any position. Today the greater number of them are healed, and I hope to be better soon. The Father, who is a doctor, is treating me, but I am extremely weak.

How many times in the weakness of this suffering I have thought of France and even of Vincennes! I am a gourmand in imagination *only,* for here only the bare necessities are to

[63]The confirmation ceremony which Bruté held at the Indian camp outside Logansport. See *ante,* p. 92.

[64]These attacks occurred between September 25 and October 3 and October 12 and 15. Petit's Journal, *post,* pp. 129-30.

[65]See Petit's Journal, *post,* p. 131.

[66]Father Hoecken.

[67]A temporary chapel was immediately erected by the Indians on the banks of Potawatomi Creek, a structure forty feet long and twenty-two feet wide. Shanties made of wood, bark, and canvas were put up for shelters. Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis,* I, 683; Thomas H. Kinsella, *The History of Our Cradle Land* (Kansas City, 1921), p. 227.

be had. Things will be better, I hope, and in a little while I shall take near you, at Vincennes, the rest I need so much to prepare myself for new labors; or (who knows?) perhaps I shall recover my strength here, and my health will be completely restored.

I am sorry to learn, by one of your recent letters, of Messrs. de la Hailandière's and Vabret's bad health; I hope they are better now and that I shall find you all well.

As for my Indians, they are in general well and, as in the past, full of zeal. They are the consolation of Father Hoecken, whose mission for the last two years has been nothing but a trial, almost devoid of consolations;[68] after the thorns, he will have the rose.

I have not received the letters you mentioned in your last; if you have the goodness to write to me, my address is B. Petit, Catholic Missionary at the Potawatomi Village at the Osage River, Post Office at Westport,[69] Missouri.

Accept, Monseigneur, my respectful homage and entire submission, and deign to pray for your child and priest,

B. Petit
Ptre. Mre.

[Addressed:] To the Right Revd. Bishop Brute Vincennes (Knox Cty.) Indiana.

Petit to Bishop Bruté, January 18, 1839

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA[70]]

St. Louis, 18 January, 1839

Monseigneur,

I received your valued letter dated November 6 last only on December 23 following. The good Lord having delivered

[68]The Kickapoo mission had not been successful. Several things contributed to its failure—the hostile attitude of the head chief, Pashishi, the Indians' passion for strong drink and their general moral degradation, and finally lack of funds and lack of co-operation on the part of the government. Rothensteiner, *History of the Archiocese of St. Louis,* I, 650.

[69]Westport, now Kansas City, about forty-five miles northeast of Pottawatomie Creek.

[70]The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis. A somewhat altered version is printed in *Annales,* XI (1838-39), No. LXV, 396-97.

me from the fever[71] three days previously, the solemnity of a recall addressed by his Bishop to a priest who wishes to live only with obedience all his life, and the circumstances of Messrs. Vabret's and de la Hailandière's departure,[72] left no room for doubt in either Father Hoecken or me that I should depart as soon as possible. January 2, after part of the festivities, was the date settled upon, and I tried to prepare myself for it as well as possible by rest and light exercise. . . .

After a horseback ride of a hundred and fifty miles I found it impossible to continue thus on the journey: my weakness was growing worse every day. I was accompanied by an Indian,[73] who is returning to Logansport; he sent his horse back, and mine was then tied behind the stage. After coming rather painfully to Jefferson City, we sojourned there a day. Then an open wagon, ostensibly a stage, carried us through rain and over frightful roads to St. Louis.[74] The good Lord permitted me to make this journey with an open sore on the seat, another on the thigh, and a third on the leg—the remainder of the numerous sores which covered my whole body during my illness at the Osage River.

I arrived at St. Louis exhausted and suffering a great deal from all these sores, which had not improved much during the journey. I was received like a brother by the Jesuits,[75] of whom Father Hoecken had given me to understand I could not fail to ask hospitality. I was immediately given over to the medical treatment I urgently needed at the hands of their hospital attendant, who is also a doctor. Already, after three days of rest, I feel an improvement which Providence will, I hope,

[71]This was Petit's fourth attack, which lasted from December 12 to December 20. *Ante*, p. 131.

[72]Father Vabret, suffering from lung trouble, had gone South for the winter, and Bruté had dispatched Father de la Hailandière, his vicar-general, to Europe to seek more missionaries and financial aid. Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, p. 370.

[73]Abraham Burnett. See postscript below and *ante*, p. 12n.

[74]Reached on January 15. Father John Anthony Elet to Bishop Bruté, February 15, 1839. Photostat in University of Notre Dame Archives from original in Chancery Office, Indianapolis. Elet was president of St. Louis University at this time.

[75]Petit was received and cared for by the members of the Society of Jesus at their university in St. Louis.

augment so that I may avail myself shortly of a steamboat, when the Wabash is open, to pay my respects to you and, by my return at your first call, to fulfill that condition of obedience under which you permitted me to make a journey so fruitful in blessings, with the provision that I employ well the favors of my Lord.

The Indian who is the bearer of this letter is one of my children; he has showered tender attentions on me in my misery throughout the journey. Welcomed here like a brother and son, he will doubtless receive the same consideration from Your Fatherhood. The horse he rides is mine;[76] he should leave it at Vincennes, where he will take my old Tom, if he is still there, to complete his journey. In case Tom is no longer there, you will have the goodness to supply what money he needs to buy another; I shall reimburse you myself later.

I have been visited by Mgrs. Rosati and Loras,[77] who, knowing it was impossible for me to do them homage, did not disdain to call upon your poor priest themselves. Tomorrow M. Nicolet is also coming to see me in order to get information I can give him about the Indians. I really feel shamed by all these visits; I am consulted concerning missions, and I shrink from the subject. I should like so much to be silent when I fear that importance is attached to my answers.

I received your last, Monseigneur, at Westport, as I was leaving. I recognized all the tenderness and solicitude of your paternal goodness, which was already so well known to my heart.

I close, thinking that I shall be restored in a fortnight, and that, when the Wabash opens, I shall have the long-denied happiness of receiving your benediction.

While awaiting that moment, accept, Monseigneur, the assurance of the respectful obedience and submission of your priest and son in Jesus and Mary.

B. Petit
Ptre. Mre.

[76]See Journal, *post*, p. 131.

[77]Pierre Jean Mathias Loras, Bishop of Dubuque. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, V (1909), 180; Kempker, "Catholic Missionaries . . . of Iowa," *Annals of Iowa*, X, 56-58.

Mgr. Loras will soon reply to your last letter. Mgr. Rosati would like you to send the plan of the church at Frederick[78] which you have, or which he thinks you can procure for him.

[Addressed:] To the Right Revd. Bishop Bruté Vincennes (Knox Cty.) Indiana. Care of Abraham Burnett, my Potawatomi companion and son. B. P.

[78]St. John's Church at Frederick, Maryland. Bruté had attended consecration ceremonies there in April, 1837. Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, pp. 308-9.

CONCLUSION

Father Petit did not live to see his Bishop again. Exhausted by his strenuous journey and weakened by successive attacks of fever, he died at St. Louis on February 10, 1839. He was not quite twenty-nine years old. On February 18 Father Elet sent an account of his death to Bishop Bruté:[1]

"I have absolutely no doubt that Your Reverence has received our good Father Carroll's letter revealing the great loss your diocese has just suffered in the person of M. Petit. It remains for me to narrate the consoling and edifying details of his last moments in order to lessen the pain which such a loss must have caused your paternal heart.

"M. Petit arrived at St. Louis on January 15 (I believe), not only exhausted but reduced by fever, which he had had three times in four months, to a pitiable state. . . . God in His goodness must have given him strength which his body no longer possessed in order that he might have the consolation of coming among his confreres here to end his days and that we might have the happiness of showing charity toward a worthy and lovable man and of being edified by his virtues.

"How his name suited him! By his unalterable gentleness, his good humor, he showed himself the *Benjamin* of all those who could appreciate his good qualities; by his modesty, his humility, he was *Petit* in his own eyes, although great in the eyes of God and of all those who understood his true greatness. What patience, what resignation in his suffering! What lively gratitude for those who served him in his illness! But especially, what tender piety toward the Savior's Mother!

[1]Father L. A. Elet to Bishop Bruté, February 18, 1839, translated from a photostat in the University of Notre Dame Archives from the original in the Chancery Office, Indianapolis. See also L. M. Pin to Bishop Bruté, February 7 and 24, 1839, Father Mathias Loras to Bishop Bruté, February 11, 1839, Father James Oliver Van de Velde to Bishop Bruté, March 24, 1839, photostats in University of Notre Dame Archives from originals in Chancery Office at Indianapolis; Bishop Bruté to Father Elet, February 28, 1839, St. Louis University Archives; Bishop Bruté's sermon on Petit, February 18, 1839, reprinted from *Catholic Telegraph* in *Catholic Advocate*, March 23, 1839.

"The eve of the Purification he asked my permission to celebrate Holy Mass the next day in honor of the Mother of Goodness who had protected him from his earliest youth and whom he had never ceased to love. The desire he showed was so great that, although I felt some danger on account of his extreme weakness, I granted his request. I therefore arranged an altar in the room next to his, a fire was made there early in the morning, and he said his last Mass there. . . .

"If your Reverence thinks I did wrong in acceding to his request, impose a penance upon me and I shall promptly accept it. M. Petit, although very weak, suffered less and slept soundly (he had not been able to do this for many weeks) during the nights of the 3d, 4th, and 5th, and he felt much relieved.

"But on the 6th the symptoms of his illness were such as to leave no room for hope. . . . . .

"All remedies were useless, because he was destined for Heaven. He grew worse hourly, and on the 8th he received the sacraments of the dying with angelic piety. Toward evening on the 10th they came to tell me that his end was approaching. I hastened to him immediately, and, upon seeing me come in, he raised his head to greet me; with a sweet smile upon his dying lips he nodded. I asked him if he was suffering greatly. He replied to me only by casting an expressive look upon the crucifix which hung beside his bed. 'You mean to say,' I responded immediately, grasping his thought, 'that He suffered more for you?' 'Ah, yes!' was his answer. At the same time I held the crucifix to his lips, and he kissed it tenderly twice. His confessor was busy at this moment; I prepared him again to receive absolution, which I gave him.

"At ten o'clock in the evening I was called again: he was in agony. I went immediately and with several others I recited the prayers for the agonizing. His eyes were fixed constantly on us, and at the conclusion he asked for water. Retaining consciousness to the end, he quietly expired twenty minutes before midnight, February 10, 1839.

"Following the custom of our society, I had him clothed in full sacerdotal vestments, and he was then placed on view in the library. On the 11th, at 5 o'clock in the evening, the whole

community assembled in the chapel to recite the office of the dead. On the 12th all the fathers said Mass for the repose of his soul; the other members took part. At 9 o'clock of the same day the service took place. All the students were assembled; the temporal coadjutors, the scholastics, the fathers, the priests of the cathedral, the two bishops, the celebrant in a cope with two assistants in tunics went in procession with the body, which was borne in a casket covered with black velvet which was carried by eight students, each wearing a scarf of mourning. I sang Mass, and Mgr. Loras, at the request of Mgr. Rosati, gave absolution. A great number of Catholics on horseback and in carriages accompanied the body to the cemetery, where I blessed the grave and performed the last rites. . . ."

Father Petit's body was brought back to St. Mary's Lake, site of the University of Notre Dame, in 1856.

The remnants of Petit's little flock of Catholic Indians were left in good hands. Under Father Hoecken's supervision a church was erected at Pottawatomie Creek, and temporary shelters of bark and canvas were put up. In March, 1839, the tribe moved about twenty miles southward to the banks of Sugar Creek in Linn County, Kansas, a country remote from white settlers and offering an abundance of timber and sugar. A large log church was erected there, and more permanent homes were built. The arrival of new missionaries made possible the opening of a school. In 1840 more Potawatomi emigrants from Indiana arrived.

In 1848 all the Potawatomi in the West were gathered together at St. Marys, about one hundred forty miles northwest of Sugar Creek, on the northern bank of the Kansas River.[2] Here they remained until the Civil War, when, threatened by the Confederate forces and by the western Plains Indians, they scattered north and south. At present most of them are living on reserves in Kansas and Oklahoma.[3]

[2]See Father Hoecken's diary in Kinsella, *History of Our Cradle Land,* pp. 225-36; Father M. Gailland's diary, printed in *Woodstock Letters,* VI (1877), 8-18.

[3]In 1937 there were 2,667 Potawatomi on the reserve in Oklahoma, 1,013 on the reserve in Kansas, and 142 in Michigan. U. S. Secretary of the Interior, *Annual Report,* 1937, pp. 254, 255, 258.

APPENDIX

FATHER PETIT'S JOURNAL

[Translated from photostat, UNDA[1]]

Octbre. 1837

Account rendered on my first mission

A. M. D. G.[2]

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	Activities, and references to the notes[3]
Octbre. 16	Vincennes	110$.00	$ .0	I should have departed on the 17th, but the stage forgot me, and I did not depart until the 20th.
Octbre. 20	Carlisle		0.37	Breakfast
				Mr Rebour, a young man from the East who received his education at St. Mary's of Baltimore, presents his respects to Monseigneur.
			.25	Dinner
" 21	Terrehaute		0.62	Supper and lodging
			6.00	Stage to la fayette
				Mrs. Turner—cumulating power,—Inquisition—no salvation out of our church—Why not to excommunicate all those who do not behave well.—catholics drunkards and swearers.
	Clinton		0.37	Breakfast
	Newport		0.37	Dinner
" 22	Perysville		0.62	Supper and lodging
	Covington		0.37	Breakfast
	Clarksburg		0.25	Dinner
	Lafayette		0.62	Supper and lodging
			2.50	Stage to Logansport
				I performed a marriage at the inn—see note 1. the stage having broken down and being unable to carry us, we hired a wagon.
" 23	Delphi	5.00	0.62	Dinner
			1.50	Wagon to Logansport
Totals		115.00	14.46	

[1]The original of the Journal is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis. In the translation and transcription of the Journal, part of which is in English, an effort has been made to follow Petit's style as closely as possible, both in form and in the spelling of names.

[2]*Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam.*

[3]These notes appear at the end of the Journal. See *post*, pp. 133-34.

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	Activities and references to the notes
Octbre. 24	Thompson's		0.31	Lodging and supper
	Logansport	1.50		Mr Murphy undertakes to get the refund for my fare on the stage and pays me in advance. Mr Lamy refuses to accept payment Mr François absent. Mr Lasselle[4] thinks that I can see the Indians without impropriety.—administered to a sick woman 7 miles from Logansport. See note 2.
" 25			5.00	Stage to Southbend Baptism of Marie Elizabeth Brouillet at Rochester. See note 3.
" 26			0.87	Supper, Bed, breakfast 18 miles from Southbend. Mr Muller came and took Mr Deseilles' horse away, his own being sick, and he leaves it here, he also took various articles of clothing. Visit to the tomb of Mr Deseilles. Conditions. See note 4.
" 27	Southbend			Learned a sermon, or nearly so, said Holy Mass. I found at Mr Deseilles' 14 or 15 little catechisms which I have taken. I took one of his trunks and books. wrote to Vincennes.
" 28			.50	One bridle rein. Mass. departure for bertrand where I shall say Mass next Sunday.
" 29	Bertrand			1st. High Mass—Sermon in French, a few words in English—1 confession—Mme. Joseph Bertrand[5] gives me a saddlebag, and two little books. return to Southbend.—Beginning of discussion.—
" 30	Southbend			Mass, Holy Scripture, theology.—diabolus meridianus. I prepare a little sermon in English for All Saints' Day. discussion.
" 31				Mass, preparation at the Lake for High Mass tomorrow. learned my sermon.—the person with whom I was carrying on a discussion feels shocked and troubled by it, so I shall stop for the moment. preparation of a sermon in French. Holy Scripture—gift of a penknife. I took two little Christian's guides to give away upon occasion.
	Totals	1.50	6.68	

[4]Probably Hyacinthe Lasselle, who had a tavern in Logansport at this time. Helm, *History of Cass County*, pp. 529-31.
[5]Mona, or Madeline, daughter of Chief Topenebee. See *ante*, p. 50n.

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	Activities and references to the notes
Nov^bre.	1 St. Mary's Lake	0.50		I am to say a Mass for the benefit of the person who gave me this half dollar.—High Mass, sermons in French, English—confessions—breviary—visits—sermons to prepare.—
"	2	0.50		I owe two Masses one to Ste. Monique, the other to the Blessed Virgin—High Mass, sermon in French, confessions. Mr Laurent Bertrand informs me that his wife is disposed to become a Catholic and desires to speak to the priest. letter to Vincennes.—preparations—Holy Scripture.
	3			Said the Mass requested on the 1st—Departure—arrival at Chichipé outipé.—a brief word.
4-26	Chichipé outipé near plymouth			Said the two masses promised on the 2, but said for that day.—138 communions, many confessions, 1 communion of the sick, 1 extreme unction, 1 burial, 28 baptisms 18 of which adult.—[6] 9 marriages—27 sermons—Dominus pars &c (Nov. 21)—visits to some Protestants, Mme. Belley[7] moved by grace.—speeches by the chiefs.—farewells, return.—letter to Vincennes.
			6.00	To Mlle Campeau for different things.
			0.50	for moccasins—Hélandière—Buteux.
			0.90	supper, lodging, my horse; 9 miles from South [bend].
26	Southbend			Mass, confession. I receive the news of the death of Mr Shaffer who died on Oct.^bre 2.
			0.50	postage for letters.
27	same			Mass—letter to Vincennes—same to Detroit.
			1.12	letters to Mr Deseilles collected at the post office
			0.50	paper—haircut.
totals		1.00	9.52	

[6]Fourteen of these baptisms were recorded in the Register. See *post*, p. 137.
[7]Bailly (?).

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	Activities and references to the notes
28	Southbend Bertrand			Mass—memorial—departure for Bertrand. Confession and conditional baptism of my goddaughter. Mme. Laurent Bertrand, converted by her husband.
29-30	Bertrand			Masses, Sermons;—Reconciliation to be made, and made through God's grace.—return to Southbend.
		0.75		from a poor Irishman.
Dcbre. 31-10	Southbend			I have completed the 10 Masses requested by Mr de la Hélandière for Mrs. Deseilles and Schaffer. Visit to a poor Catholic who had joined the Dunkers, she comes to confession. Sunday catechism after Dinner.—I see at the lake Mme. Clark who wishes to become a Catholic.—Gifts and packages to Mlle. Campeau (note 5)—book lent to Mme. Belley.—a little prayer book, a catechism, a little pamphlet given.—Location for a second farm laid out (note 6). Letter to Mr François;—theology, Holy Scripture, sermons.
			0.25	Letter to France—Memorial completed.
			0.12½	letter from Vincennes
Dcbre. 11	Southbend			Visits to Mme. Clarke—I think that her sister at Mme. B. Coquillard's[8] will also become a Catholic
" 13	Bertrand			Departure for Pocagon's—Mr B: Bertrand[9] my interpreter, night journey.—
14	Pocagon			sleigh upset nine times, broken.—confessions—6 communions.—extreme unction
15-17	Bertrand			—2 baptisms—letter to Mr Muller, dispatch of the Comparet note by Mr
18	Southbend			Coquillard.—confessions at the lake.—Mlle. Bourassa interpreter.
			0.72	2 letters from Vincennes—1 from Detroit—from Fort Wayne—1 from Logansport.—*Washington.*
	Totals	0.75	1.09½	

[8]Wife of Benjamin Coquillard, brother of Alexis Coquillard. Coquillard, *Alexis Coquillard*, p. 20.
[9]Probably Benjamin Bertrand, a half-breed son of Joseph Bertrand. "History . . . of Bertrand," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, *Collections*, XVIII, 130.

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	Activities and references to the notes
19, 20, 21	Southbend			Writing of sermons, confessions, visits, fatigue.—Masses.
22, 23	Bertrand			confessions of Pocagon's tribe, Masses. return to southbend.
24				High Mass at the Lake, sermons;—baptism of Mme. Clarke—3 baptisms of adult Indians and 4 children at bertrand,[10] for afternoon confessions.
25				Midnight Mass at bertrand, sermons, about 50 communions.—High Mass and 3d Mass at the Lake, sermons, 10 to 15 communions.
		2.0		from a good Irishman and from my poor reconciled Dunker lady.
			4.0	to Charron for services rendered, and horseshoeing.—Letter to Mlle. Deseille.
26-27	Southbend	3.50		On leaving Southbend.—Mme. Clarke very ill, not married. departure for chichipé out. letter to Vincennes. arrival at the Indians' home.
Dcbre. 28-Jny. 5	Chichipé outipé near plymouth			Baptism of 28 adults; 7 children,[11] 5 marriages, 107 communions. letter to Mr Badin.—
		10.50	10.50	my New Year's gifts from the Indians, intended for wheat for widows and orphans.—given for orphans, neglected sons of a bad mother, to the woman who is in charge of them. she is the woman who made me a present of a pair of moccasins.—rosaries, cross.—conference with the Protestants.—difficulties of the poor Belley lady.
			2.00	
Totals		16.00	16.50	

[10]See Baptismal Register, *post*, p. 136.
[11]Seventeen of these baptisms were recorded in the Register. See *post*, p. 137.

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	Activities and references to the notes
January 5	Chichipé outipé		1$.00	one pair of moccasins ordered at Monsseau
			0.25	postage for letters. letter to France.
			0.75	
			0.25	a skin from Pescho for my saddle
			20.00	advanced to Chechawkosse as a payment on my horse.—I lent the bishop's $200 note to the chiefs departing for Washington. On January 27 I completed 50 Masses for the bishop.—Wrote to Logansport, to Vincennes. The Americans are making up stories against me, I saw, said one, I heard, said another. The savages are giving him 4 sections, not 4 miles square.—Theology, Holy Scripture.—Extreme unctions.—Mutual affection between the Indians and me.—counterorder for Washington.—counterorder for Vincennes.—Providence wants me here.—I am here, well.
February 10			60.00	Chechawkosse's horse being hurt I buy one from Benake[12] 70 dollars, 10 on credit. Departure for South-bend.
February 10	South-Bend		0.25	Camomile—English taffetas.
			0.63	a whip
			1.25	a double bridle
			1.12	postage for letters and order from France and Vincennes
		1.25		3 Masses which I said for the benefit of two persons from Bertrand.—Masses, confessions sermons, the number of Catholics seems to be increasing.—difficulties of intimate ministry.
20-22	Bertrand			
22-26	Southbend			Theology, Holy Scripture. letters to Vincennes and preparations of letters for France. Departure for Chichipé.
	Totals	1.25	95.50	[86.50]

[12]Benack, a Potawatomi chief, had a village near the present town of Clunette in Kosciusko County. He had received one section of land by treaty in 1828, and eight in 1832. He died at his village in the 1850's. L. W. Royse, *A Standard History of Kosciusko County Indiana* (2 volumes. Chicago, 1919), I, 52-53; Kappler (ed.), *Laws and Treaties*, II, 273, 295; Winger, *The Potawatomi Indians*, pp. 70-71.

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	Activities and references to the notes
February 26-March 20	Chichipé Outipé			I heard confessions in preparation for Easter, the Ash ceremony.—Studies; progress in Indian.—visits without interpreter.—M. Francois' visit—he confirms me in my idea of asking the bishop. . . . letters for my friends in France.—Funeral sermon to preach at turkey creek prairie—I have suffered many injuries from my horse. 14 baptisms,[13] 3 mar.
		5.00		from an Indian woman
		150.00		from Mr la Helandière.
			1.50	for oats.
			2.00	lent to Meshgamy.
			1.00	postage for letters, Vincennes, Washington, Logans[port].
			0.50	traveling expenses.
20-27	Southbend			I prepare for my journey to turkey creek—sermons, theology—letter to Vincennes—
		1.00		Mass said for a woman who asked me for it beginning of confessions for Easter.—
			1.50	a strap and leather for my saddle.
27-30	Goshen		1.62	traveling expenses.—Mass at Lisburg at Mr Horan's home.—I preach and hear confession at Mr Norris' home. Methodist O Lord!—I bless the grave—baptism of the little Rousseau girl.[14]—Mass at Goshen at the home of Mr Wurster, whose newborn child I baptize.[15]—
	Lisburg	5.00		
	turkey creek			
		2.00		
		3.00		2 baptisms at the Lake
		1.00		from an Irishman at confession. 2 Masses said for Norris
30-April 2		3.00	0.87	from Charron for the Church—postage for letters, haircut, pills, combs.
			83.31	taxes for the land at the lake and cost of receipt (note 6).
		168.00 [170.00]	92.30	

[13]See Baptismal Register, *post*, p. 138.
[14]*Post*, p. 135.
[15]*Post*, p. 135.

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	Activities and references to the notes
2-3	Bertrand			Confessions and Easter communions, 10.
4-8	Southbend			I said Mass at 9 o'clock at the lake this week to facilitate attendance at con-
		2.00		fession. 24 Easter communions.—Sunday 8, 4 baptisms; 2 Protestants at confession in order to become Catholic.
			8.75	for a summer coat.—the material.
10			0.50	one horseshoe; a letter to France.
				departure for chichipé outipé.
				Mass said for Mme. bertrand.
April 11	chichipé outipé			Labors for Easter, confessions sermons baptisms
25-26	Tippecanoe			Visit to a sick woman (at Benake's)
30-May 3	Southbend			Death of Mme. Henricks—I said 3 Masses for her; Catholic burial, funeral sermon.
May 4	Chichipé outipé			Completion of Easter labors. (201 communions)
-14-26	Pokagon's			Departure for Pokagon's,—there, 65 communions, 15 baptisms[16] and 5 marriages.
26-31	Southbend			Departure for Chichipé Outipé.
31-June 22	Chichipé			Number of Communions at Pentecost 168. number of baptisms from Easter till now has been 83.[17]—marriages 18. I begin confessions without an interpreter.
June 13	Louison's village	4.00		Visit and baptism of a sick man.—confessions, bapt. mar.[18]
			12.00	tailoring and accessories for my summer coat
		12.75		what Mr Coquillard had given Mgr. for his taxes last year I got the material and the accessories for the coat out of this.
Totals		18.75	21.25	

[16]Eighteen baptisms are recorded. See *post*, p. 139.
[17]See *post*, pp. 138-39, 139-41, for baptisms recorded during April, May and June.
[18]See Baptismal Register, *post*, p. 140 and note.

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	Activities and references to the notes
			3.00	a pair of shoes
			3.00	a pistol
			5.00	revamping my boots.
			4.00	a hundred of flour.
			4.00	two hundred of flour.
			2.50	Postage for letters, and delivery to France.
		1.50		Mme. Mouton comes 80 miles for her children's first communion.
		3.00		from the savages.
			1.25	My black straw hat.
			38.00	lent to various individuals. Note 7. I have the note
? June	Southbend		1.00	for some bran for my horse and a few boards
		6.00		Sunday the 24th, I perform 7 baptisms at the lake.[19]
		3.50		for 5 Masses, from the daughters of Mme. Mouton, I said 3 for one and 2 for the other, according to their request.—My horse suddenly dies.
			3.00	lent to Mr Pelletier.—I said a Mass for the young Chardonnet lady.—Sunday
		0.50		the 1st of July I baptize at the lake 1 Indian woman, one Protestant young man
		0.50		a child—first confession of a Protestant.—for a Mass for a deceased Father.
5-7				I have said it.—I go to see a sick woman at Wane Kik—3 baptisms.[20] (2 of Indians). 10 or 11 communions at the lake and at Bertrand.
		1.00		from an Irishman.
July 8	Chichipé Outipé		20.00	I lend 20 dollars to Pokagon.
	Logansport			I go to Mr françois' house at logansport with Mr Navarre.[21] cordial reception, confessions of Indians.
	Chichipé outipé			I return to my home two days later.
		16.00	84.75	

[19]See Baptismal Register, *post*, p. 136. [20]*Post*, p. 141.

[21]In 1820 Pierre Navarre moved from Monroe, Michigan, to the St. Joseph River. He built a trading post at the site of South Bend. He married a Potawatomi woman, by whom he had six children. He went to the West with the Potawatomi in 1840 but returned to South Bend, where he died December 27, 1864. Howard, *History of St. Joseph County*, I, 130-31.

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	Activities and references to the notes
- August 5	chichipé outipé		0.50	traveling.—I performed 14 baptisms,[22] 2 marriages, very numerous confessions, many sick. I am a little tired out.—the emigration agents harass, accuse, flatter me; threaten the Indians;—to avoid the troops and armed force at the seizure of the reserve, I reply that the Indians will not offer resistance.—On the 5th the government takes possession of my pre-empted church and house.—on the 4th I say Mass there again, the altar is dismantled, and the church's interior stripped amidst the Indians' sobs and my own tears. I bid farewell; we pray together once more for the success of missions, we sing: In thy protection do we trust . . . I depart.✠
		5.00		from an Indian woman to pray the Lord for her son.—Sabien.
		2.00		from a Fleming.
5-Septbre. 5	southbend Bertrand Pokagon's		3.00	I have the fever for 3 weeks, twice was I called to visit the sick at Pokagon's—everyone sick at Mr Charron's and Mr. Coquillard's.—I go to bertrand to spend a few days recuperating. there I learn that the Indians are prisoners of war, Tipton having obtained a signal victory over the Indians who did not think of fighting—they are being forcibly emigrated.—their sorrow,—the number of their sick—upon the general's request I reply that I cannot accompany them, as my bishop has not given me permission.
	Totals	7.00	3.50	

[22]Fifteen baptisms are recorded for July and August at Chichipé Outipé. *Post*, p. 141.

[Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenses	Activities and references to the notes]
Septbre. 5	Southbend	I find myself almost penniless at la fayette an Irish woman gives me for Masses.	my journey from logansport to southbend and from southbend to Danville paid for by the government.	Sudden arrival of the bishop.—we set out for Logansport.—we pass by the camp, he conceals me— another refusal to permit me to accompany the emigration to the Mississippi—I will not ask again.—I receive permission—general Tipton's and judge Polke's request.— Mass, vespers and confirmation at the camp near Logansport—I leave to get my baggage— before leaving Southbend Mlle. Campeau is dying— at Chichipé outipé Mme. Belley is dying.— I am unable to overtake the party until Danville Illinois.—
Septbre. 7				
Septbre. 10				
Septbre. 16		10.00		
Septbre. 16			The government assumed my expenses on the journey I have however some expenditures of which I did not keep exact account.	I sleep in general Morgan's tent.—a few baptisms.— 6 miles from Danville at Sandusky Camp, departure of Tipton and part of the troops Holy Mass twice, 6 deaths, 2 baptisms, 3 private baptisms.—at the camp 10 miles from Sandusky 3 deaths, muckose[23]— camp Sidney 2 deaths— My appointment as interpreter.— one death—on the 23d two deaths.—I remain with the sick at the camp called Sangamon crossing—3 burials.— I rejoin the emigration 16 miles further on with the sick, one woman dead on the way.— yesterday Sinagowak and baptiste obtained permission to rejoin their family.—I am attacked by fever. a Frenchman wants to take me into his house, I fear difficulties in catching up.—At Naples where the emigration crosses the Illinois, I enjoy the hospitality of Mr Craft— I depart for
Septbre. 17				
Septbre. 20				
Septbre. 21				
Septbre. 22				
Septbre. 24				
Septbre. 25				
Octbre. 3				
		10.00		

[23]Probably Chief Muck Rose. His death is mentioned in the "Journal," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXI, 322. See also *ante*, p. 18.

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	[Activities and references to the notes]
Octbre 5	Quincy		4.50 (stage)	Quincy expecting to find there Mr. St Cyr;[24] I meet there Mr Brickwedde German priest—Latin—the German's kind welcome,— Mr Schell—Mr Schrader—Mr Guth—Mr. and Mme. Rogers—an evening at the house of Senator Young.[25]
		2.00		extreme unction for an Irishman—from an Irishman. I buy various things—
Octbre. 9			15.00	boots, blankets, hose, wine, raisins, goggles, books &c.—Mr Brickwedde gives me a pipe—departure from Quincy— the health at camp improves.— Catholics
	Paris			come to see me at camp. breakfast at Paris provided by a Catholic; the baptist
Octbre. 12-15				minister: indeed I feel in my heart that I Love mankind.—encampment in the snow.— I am attacked by fever,—the apples and the orchard—"I, also, am a suppliant" the two Frenchmen taking the camp for a fair and coming to see me— they mistake some men who are defending their fields against a fire in the
	Richmond			prairie for a battle.—The Mormon war— American army forming at rich-
20-25				mond— Cannon and rifle fire without seeing the enemy.—Independance, frontier
Novbre. 1	Independance		1.00	town— wine and letter from Vincennes, we lose our way in a heavy all-day rain in the prairies to the number of 150 horsemen our American conductors even lost— encampment at the Miamis village called Wieäs.—arrival of Father Hookins—[26] the next day after
	Totals	2.00	20.50	

[24]Father John M. I. Saint Cyr came to America in 1831 and was ordained a priest on April 6, 1833, by Bishop Rosati. He was sent to Chicago, where he remained until 1837, when he was appointed to service in the vicinity of Quincy. In 1838 he was transferred to the old parish of Kaskaskia. Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, I, 524-26, 751-52.

[25]Richard Montgomery Young, member of the United States Senate from 1837 to 1843. *Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress*, p. 1739.

[26]Hoecken.

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	[Activities and references to the notes]
Novbre. 4	Osage river Potawatomi Creek	245.00	100.00 90.00 4.50 30.00	Holy Mass we depart.—arrival at our destination—my salary as interpreter my black horse bought— lent to Father Hookins to buy a wagon and a pair of oxen.— the doctor's kitchen utensils—at my demand the government makes me a present of my tent—I exchange my big gray mare for a horse which will stand the winter better in Indian fashion.—lent to Bourassa Lazare for his return on the guarantee of Abraham Burnett. I fall sick at Joseph Bourassa's, for 19 days I have the fever there—I return to camp— a church has been built there of bark and pieces of wood set upright, they are building an Indian lodge for us.— no flour—visit from the agent, he was more than willing to oblige, he knows everything through Polke.— I buy a bearskin for my saddle.— letters to France, to Vincennes, and detailed account of the journey entrusted to Judge Polke—still ailing, no bread.— the fever again.—received from Mr Lassellais in behalf of Mr Coquillard who owed me two and was to have received 18 from mr navarre who owed them to me. the fever leaves me, I feel better,—I receive only on this day my order to return, dated Novbre. 6— I prepare myself to depart within a few days in order to gather strength against the cold and the rigor of the road at this advanced season
Novbre. 8	during the journey the number of deaths was about 30.			
Novbre. 27			2.25	
Decbre. 12		20.00		
Decbre. 20				
Decbre. 23				
	Totals	265.00	226.75	

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenses	[Activities and references to the notes]
29	Osage river	6.00		payment of an old debt of Joseph Morlin
		2.00		and from mechgami.— I have sold an ax to Mgr.
		1.00		an old debt of old Noiakouleau
		21.00		present from the Indians on my departure.—
		3.00		sold a bridle— 1 dollar owed by a woman.
		4.50		part payment on David Morling's debt 5.50 remains
		30.00		from abraham burnet for Lazare Bourassa's debt
			4.50	a bridle.— some hay and some mocassins
			1.00	overshoes

NOTES

No. 1. Delphi 23.— between the stage's arrival and departure I married John Oheiran and Ellen Holland. not having had time to hear their confessions as I should have liked to, I did not give them absolution and merely tried to move them to contrition, then married them; as I was much pressed for time, or rather I imagined I was more than I actually was, I proceeded with the prayer Deus qui potestate, to the end before the benediction—Deus Abraham—I pronounced from about sapiens ut Rebecca to ut videant ambo & the conclusion.— I had the license and I took the declaration of 4 witnesses that they knew no impediment.— I made out a certificate of marriage, which I am sending by Mr. François of Logansport.

No. 2. This woman was very sick and could not speak; she tried, but after great effort to pronounce a few disjointed words, she told me she could not speak; I told her not to worry, I moved her to contrition as well as I could, then absolution, then extreme unction.— I felt worried by the words of absolution; fearing not to have administered it well, I conditionally readministered it to her upon departing—si tu non es absoluta, &c. thinking it was better to do thus than to run the risk of her dying without absolution.

No. 3. I was extremely hurried while performing this baptism, the old Presbyterian mother came to the door and said: dinner is served, the stage was about to depart; so, being a little disturbed, I was not sure of my baptism, and immediately after having pronounced the service once, I began again si non es baptista &c. I am not even sure the condition was not merely mentally expressed.—I did not have time to dine, and the stage departed without me, I was obliged to run after it. the child was about six weeks old, the daughter of the eldest son of Michael Brouillet, and Mlle. Chamberlain of rochester.

No. 4. Mr François paid the debts with the money that was found,—according to the testimony of Charron and another man who attended Mr Deseilles in his illness with him, it appeared that Mr Deseilles gave him his oxen, it also appeared that Mr François paid 15 piasters on a debt on which partial payments to be deducted from that sum had already been received.—all that being doubtful, I think it wise to leave everything as it is without offending anyone. Mr Muller took away a cassock, a cloak, a coat, and two albs.—

No. 5. Mlle. Campeau having asked me for a few pocket handkerchiefs, an old used cloak, some worn stockings which she had put aside for herself, I did not think I could refuse her these things, which were of no use and which will be so good for the respectable missionary lady. At the same time I took some of Mr Badin's rosaries for the savages—quite worthless.

No. 6. Taxes were owing for 1836 and 1837. the details of this account are as follows:

1836 tax	$20.251	
50% penalty for delinquency	10.125	
100% interest per year in our case the interest has run 1 year 3 months, 22 days	26.68	
1837 tax	26.	
fee paid to the town clerk for receipt	0.25	
Total	83.30	
No. 7. I lent to David Morlin	$4.00	
more to the same, 100 pounds flour	4.00	
more to the same, 200 pounds flour	3.00	
To Joseph Morlin[27] on flour	.90	
more [to the same] 30 pounds of flour at $4 a hundred	1.20	paid
more to the same for flour, 100 pounds	2.00	
Lent to Sissiak	3.00	
to Mechgami	2.00	paid
to Mousse	10.00	
to Mme. B:	5.00	
to the old Noïakouteau	1.00	
to Meksabi	1.00	
to the woman whose daughter died	1.00	
Total	38.00	[38.10]

[27]The sums lent to Joseph Morlin, Mechgami, and old Noïakouteau are crossed out, indicating that they had been paid back.

FATHER PETIT'S ENTRIES IN THE BAPTISMAL REGISTER[1]

[UNDA]

I have baptized to day theresa daughter of Mr Philip Molegan and Mary Riley. Godfather, Patrick Molegan and Godmother Mary Cinquôme.
Lake St Mary near Southbend 25 March 1838 B: PETIT ptre. mre.

I have baptized today Alexandre, son of Mr. Gabriel Proux and Marguerite Paget, born on March 17, 1837. Godfather Michel Paget and godmother Marianne Navarre.
Lake St. Mary near Southbend 25 March 1838. B: PETIT ptre. mre.

. . . . . .

I have Baptised, standing as her Godfather, Mary Wallace wife of Mr. Joseph André.
At the lake St. Mary Decbre. 24, 1837 B: PETIT ptre. mre.

I have Baptised, standing as her Godfather, Mathilda daughter of Mr. Rousseau from Lisburg, 4 years old.
Turkey creek prairie 29th March 1838 B: PETIT ptre. mre.

I have baptised Marianna daughter of Mr. John Wurster and of Marianna Gardner, born on the 22d. March 1838.
Goshen 30th. March 1838. B: PETIT ptre. mre.

. . . . . .

I have Baptised thomas son of James Kelly and of Emmy Underwood, born on the 9th. of april 1836.—Godfather Edward Molegan.
Lake St. Mary 8th april 1838. B: PETIT ptre. mre.

I have baptised Maria daughter of Mr. John Folly and Mary Binn his wife—Godfather Edmond Kenny.
Lake St. Mary 8th april 1838 B: PETIT ptre. mre.

I have baptised Elias son of Joseph Metzger and of Eliza Harris, 15 months old—Godfather Arbogaste Zendly.
Lake St Mary 8th april 1838 B: PETIT ptre. mre.

I have baptised Rosa daughter of Mr Arbogaste Zendly and Rosa Pinder—Godfather Joseph Metzger.
Lake St. Mary 8th april 1838. B: PETIT ptre. mre.

I have baptised therèsa, daughter of Mr. Pierre Navarre and of angélique Kichouéckouay his wife, eleven years old.
Lake St. Mary, 5th april 1838 B: PETIT ptre. mre.

[1]Part of the entries in the Baptismal Register are in French and part in English. In the translation and transcription Petit's style has been followed as closely as possible.

I baptised Catherine Alexandrine daughter of Mr Pierre Nadeaux and Marie Rousseau.
Bertrand 24 Decbre. 1838 [1837] B: Petit ptre. mre.

This day, Decbre. 24, 1838 [1837], I baptized at bertrand also, François Ashképi—Jean baptiste Cagoneshe—Pierre Mendoca—Pierre son of Jean Bte. Bertrand—Angélique Papshe—Joseph Nanmé Kéckshe—Indians from Pocagon's village. B: Petit ptre. mre.

I have baptised to day Denys son of John MacEllen and of Mary MacPit. Godfather Philip Molegan.
Lake St Mary 24th june 1838 B: Petit ptre. mre.

I have baptised to day thomas son of Henry Mac Nally and of Anne MacGraham. Godfather John Cannon.
St Mary's Lake 24 june 1838 B: Petit ptre. mre.

I have baptized today Solomon timothee son of Leandre Metay and Marianne Mouton. Godfather Joseph Bertrand, Jr.
Lake St. Mary 24 june 1838 B: Petit ptre. mre.

I baptized today Caroline Zélina daughter of Patrick Maranthile [Marantette?] and Fanny Mouton, I was godfather.
Lake St Mary 24 june 1838 B: Petit ptre. mre.

I have baptized to day Magdalen daughter of John Mayer and of Barbara Redis; Godfather Jacob Mayer.
St. Mary's Lake 24 june 1838 B: Petit ptre. mre.

I have baptised to day Margaret daughter of John Guilen and of Catharine Dougherty. Godfather James Develin.
St Mary's lake 24 june 1838 B: Petit ptre. mre.

I have baptised to day, Sophia Daughter of Mr Jacob Mayer and of Mrs. Catharine Bab.—Godfather and Godmother Mr and Mrs. Ferdinand Metzger.
Harris's Prairie 24 june 1838 B: Petit ptre. mre.

I have baptised to day, James Wallace 11 years old son of Mr Robert Wallace and of Rachel Taylor; I stood his Godfather; and Misses Mary Clarke his sister his Godmother.
Lake St Mary 1 july 1838. B: Petit ptre. mre.

I baptized to day Andrew son of Mr. Frederic Reimer and Marianne Zindley. Godmother and Godfather Mr. Arbogaste Zindley and Mrs. Metzger.
St Mary's Lake 1 july 1838. B: Petit ptre. mre.

I baptized to day Therèse Tachouay daughter of Wabekaickaik of Pepiah's village. Pepiah's wife was godmother.

Lake St Mary 1 july 1838. B: PETIT ptre. mre.

I have baptized during the month of *November 1837* at the mission of Chichipé Outipé

Novbre. 5 Marianne Neshaup daughter of Neshaup
Novbre. 7 Louis, son of Louison } married on the same day
same Angelique daughter of Neowtona }
8. Joseph son of Tchiikouaine
9. Charlot Necouteauckah son of Wapkonia
same Joseph Tebocks son of Kissis
Pierre, son of Me Mantowa
12. Marie Ashaué daughter of Misheupuckay.
13. Marie Mjeuckouoisse daughter of Maimantouai
same Pierre son of Autackouaine } married on the same day
same Pauline daugster of Pekanse }
15. Jean Baptiste Senatchauen son of Ashkum
16. Jean Baptiste Wakâkoushek son of Chaktossah.
19. I married Pierre Caumité and Marie Panousmockouay
19. Jean baptiste Skabego

B: PETIT ptre. mre.

I have baptized during the month of December and January 1838 at the mission at Chichipé Outipé

Decbre. 30 François son of Mucksabay.
January 2 Marie Tôppai daughter of Nautawkoushai
same Elizabeth Nashkouaibeus daughter of Wassmikeseau.
same 8 Marianne Menanckoway daughter of Oussikosse
Marie Mâmiai daughter of Comosussep
same 10 Marie Pammockaway daughter of Joseph Mikeshouak and Marie Tôppai
January 10 Josette Watchickoway daughter of Mickeshouak and Tôppai
same Marie Nanawknah daughter of Pitowânawbah and of Tôppai
same François Shkesh son of Wishkepai
same Joseph Koössac son of Wackomuckay
same Angélique Pacco daughter of Mandjioussah.
same Josette Chockoussay daughter of Kekathemeau
same Therèse Kouaimi daughter of Kotaipkène
same Magdeleine Michaiwackouay daughter of Nashkikto
16. T. Marie Namcomgockouay daughter of Minjuck
same Jean Baptiste Nackautâno son of Pembetto
21. Marianne Piïwa daughter of Noneshkum

B: PETIT ptre. mre.

I have baptized during the months of February and March, 1838, at the mission of Chichipé Outipé.

February 28. Joseph Nanimimukshko son of Kawpi
same Benjamin Kakakshi son of Mishewash
March 1. Antoine son of Hyacinthe Lasselle
same Jean Baptiste Clermont.
same Pierre Neschah son of Kouaitnain
2. Jean Baptiste Wackeshmen son of Nanimimuckshkuck
same Marianne Kockouaiwai daughter of Tchiikouah
4. Joseph Wassai son of Maitchuk
same Marianne Paishko daughter of Ashkum
same Angélique Outchiickouay daughter of Ashkum
same Marie Messah daughter of Wassato
same Marianne Aïah daughter of Akinôtteko
March 4 Marie Gosselin, daughter of Gosselin and Messah
same Marie Genisskouay daughter of Poimshah
March 8 I married Jean Baptiste Assaschkuck and Josette Watchickouay

B: Petit p^tre^. m^re^.

I baptized during the months of April, May, 1838 at the mission of chichipé Outipé

April 16. Elizabeth daughter of Naishkicketo
same 17. Jean Baptiste Waibenemoit son of Comési
same Marie Wishaiweckouay daughter of Pempshia
same Marie Wabenémésickouay daughter of Mashkki } married on
same François Kiockum son of Chaptôna } the same day
same Marie Demoskikiâgue daughter of Okaitji
18. I married Etienne Benake and Anne Otawackouay
same Baptized Pierre son of Commowah
19. Pierre Kiounem son of Nanawmi
same Marie Assepockenomkouay daughter of Medjissah
same I married Pierre Pamtécôché and Elizabeth Némabem
20. Marie Micheketockouay wife of Mjeuckouissee
same Elizabeth Annoinekay daughter of Packouchek.
26. Jean Baptiste Pinache son of Wa Wasso
29. Marie Tchakoussaik daughter of Matchikki
Therese Kouaiskouische daughter of Pemtackouitchek
30. Josette Jabouépkouay daughter of Sagienetche
May 4 Marie Godin daughter of Bisaillon
May 5 I married Pierre Kiounem and Angélique Kechnouckouay
May 6 I have baptized Josette daughter of Chaketo
7. Marie Mockouay daughter of Muckôsse
same Marie Montchouasse daughter of Katchkomi
same Joseph Mjeuckouisse son of Kouïknowa (married to Micheketock [MS illegible])
same I married David Morlin and Josette Annecathouay [?]✠
8. Antoine Câtôt son of Mikessis

same Joseph Châketo son of Chakemain
same Joseph Mjeuckânah son of Aikahouah married Kônetchek.
same I married André Gosselin and Marie Messah✠
9. same Pierre Câtot and Marguerite P Kishnonckouay
10. Baptized Marie Niipa daughter of Matchki
13. Benjamin Pashpoho son of Wainemek } married on
same Anne Kipowaikkouay daughter of Maisko } the same day
same Marie Miskoinonckouay daughter of Waimikon
B: PETIT p^tre. m^re.

I baptized at Pokagon's in May 1838.
May 19. Alexis Kebaskuk son of Paiwah
same Antoine Antwaicki son of Onamouche Kouay
same Pierre Kaneki son of Shpettô
same Archange Messinagockouay daughter of Wassato
same David Joseph Sakeman son of Mijebneshwesh
23. Paul Mijewidah son of Kshejek (and married to Ang^que. Tchiikais)
same Jean Baptiste Pikouakousay son of Kshejek
same Marie Etienne Kepémissen, and Marianne Naudnonckouay
May 23 Pierre Beauti son of Mijebneshwish } married on the
Agatha Psheupshickouay daughter of Minguasheckay } same day
same I married Jean Baptiste and Angelique Wabashnockouay
24. Baptized Louis, son of Taikémesmeau
same Marie Tchiagay daughter of Saackouait
same Marianne Nopmickouay daughter of Misnonsi
same Marianne Sakapinsckouay daughter of Soackouait
same Marie Outchahonne daughter of Misnonsi
25. Jean baptiste Maishkuk son of Nockay (married to Kouai Kouaish
same Antoine Ashtaickouait son of Nemkouaitto
B: PETIT p^tre. m^re.

I baptized in the month of June 1838 at the mission of Chichipé Outipé on the yellow river.
June 1. Jean Baptiste Wawassuck son of Kiouckem
same Alexis son of Wiskickouay
same Pierre Nibackouay son of Nantouay
2. Pierre Wabenem son of Pawppi
same Joseph son of Anssuck
same Josette Mettiah *son* of Quickouneau
5. Abraham Joseph Burnett son of Wijiakoupai (married the same day to Marie demos Kikiague)
same Joseph Aikenin son of Osaomuck } married
same Marianne Oketchi daughter of Nakomuck } the same day
same Marianne Nashkounan daughter of Maijuck
same Pierre Chaikanai son of Miasckouëk
same Joseph Woabackouay son of Wabenem

same Joseph Kakekaïmek son of Maiwah
June 5 Joseph Metouaishmen son of Tassouâck
Marie Outâckay daughter of Miguésis
Jean Baptiste M'dâmene son of Winnekis
Pierre Wipekônni son of Aiskopakki
Josette Kassbi daughter of Mousseau-paini
Elizabeth Messagickouay daughter of Aiskopakki
Jean Baptiste Pappouawi son of Wainainemucksi
Louis son of Mousseau paini
same Pierre Nesswabmi son of Nantwai
Angélique Piwaickouay daughter of Mejissah
Marie Kaiwah daughter of Mejissah
Pierre son of Aiowai
same Marie Nannecy daughter of Sucksi (Reed)
Antoine Kiockem son of Onancksi
Angélique Migo daughter of Onancksi
Jean Baptiste Patchkéché son of Chouaka
6. Angélique Nanantouaickouay daughter of Noïacouteau
Marianne Jishickouay daughter of Kouashkouay
Paul Kouic Kounon son of Kouic Kounon (married to Mane. Nash Kounon
6. Louis Aiowai son of Koui Kounon (married to Josette Zumo.)
5. I married Jean Baptiste Wabenemet and Elizabeth Attaibuckouay
same same Joseph Jacketeau, and Wimtegoche Kouay
7. Marianne Kiawai daughter of K'tawâne, married to François K'tawâne
Josette Wishpuckouay daughter of Kâpi
Marie Kipuckutt'kouay daughter of Osaoutep
same Pierre Nikeso son of Naioussai
8. Pierre Manidô son of Medjissah
June 8 Marie Kiwanaiskai daughter of Wainememokousset
Marianne Ackounan daughter of Nenanko
Angelique Suckani daughter of M'dâmene
Monique Ackounan daughter of Papouawi
Marie Pittanockouay daughter of Näoussai
Josette Mouaickouay daughter of Muckatah-oussi
12 Joseph Niscomso son of Patshkéché
same Angelique Osahouïam daughter of M'dâmen
14 Sabien Kiwaionuck son of Mnesnonesi[2]
Magdeleine daughter of Piaishwah
Antoine Neshâh son of Nainanteau } married on
Angelique Autchickouay daughter of Migoueski } the same day

[2]The baptism of Sabien, Magdeleine, Antoine Neshâh, Angelique Autchickouay, and James Nichkâtunnemen and the marriage of Alexis Delisle and Magdeleine Ducharme took place "at Louison's village, Eal River," according to Petit's marginal note.

I married Mr Alexis Delisle, and Magdeleine Ducharme.
15. James Nichkâtunnemen son of Kijekpouamen
18. Jean Baptiste Aiatekuchek son of Patshkéché
19. Married Louis Skinoëk, and Magdeleine N'daussay.
François Kâtâte son of Muckatahaspen
20. I married Jean Baptiste Chaïano and Therèse Kitâppâh

same Jean Baptiste Wabekekik and Marie Autenonckouay
same Jean Baptiste Pâpawi, and Anne Aickouaiwait

B: Petit ptre. mre.

I have baptized to day John son of Michel Wede and of Anne Kirnen. I stood his Godfather, and Sophia Rousseau was the Godmother. Wanekick on the St Joseph's river. 7 July 1838 B: Petit

I have that same day baptised at the same place Mary M'chiiwah daughter of Stouikichek, and Marguerite Osawah daughter of Mitchekô.—Godmother Agatha Tchemonekkouay.

B: Petit ptre. mre.

I baptized during the months of July and August 1838 at the mission of Chichipé Outipé

Marie daughter of Angéniss
July 16 Therese daughter of angélique Kiwaikoutchi and Miannekô
17 Therèse Sipickouay daughter of Mucksabay
same Marie Piiwah daughter of Kawpi.
same Angelique Comisauckouaw daughter of Kawpi
23 Jean Baptiste Joubenet son of Saubetuck
Jean Baptiste Chakouteau son of Nanawmi
Elizabeth daughter of Sinagowah
Marie daughter of Kanekuck
Moyse son of Kanekuck
28 I married Joseph OKimans and Marianne Watchki
same same Jean baptiste Joubenet and angelique Comisockouay.
30 Baptized Marianne Peshiwah daughter of Namankoushkuck
31 Marianne Kakimi daughter of Sennebenem
August 3 Marie Ouiwatso daughter of Mijekanna
same Pierre Wanemack son of Pashpoho
same Angélique Pukechinonckouay daughter of Wawatso

The 5th of the month the government took possession of my house and chapel, pre-empted by an American.

B: Petit ptre. mre.

I have baptized today Benjamin Ferdinand son of Mr Charles Chandonnay and Luce Pelletier his legitimate wife. I was godfather and Mme. Chandonnay godmother.

Lake St Mary 23 August 1838 B: Petit ptre. mre.

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